MEMOIRS.

PART III.

From the

PEACE concluded 1679.

TO THE

Time of the Author's Retirement from Publick Business.

By Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE *Baronet.*

Et Ille quidem plenus annis abiit, plenus honoribus, illis etiam quos recusavit. Plin. Epist. Lib. 2. Epist. 1.

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had told me with the great-
to have me Secretary; and
me to not one Man beſides
's Removal; And on the
to lay down, which was Five Thouſand
Grounds, and the Journey, and my own
I found nothing ſo neceſſary for his
and thoſe of *Chriſtendom*, as Great Union at
Him to make ſuch a Figure as the Prefer-
; and indeed the general Intereſt of *Chri-*
ſeem to depend wholly upon his Majeſty's Meaſures.
I never ſaw greater Diſtruſtance in Mens Minds at
been rais'd by the *Plot*, and the purſuit of it in the Par-
obſerv'd, that tho' it was generally believ'd by both Houſes,
Country, by Clergy, and Laity; yet when I talk'd with ſome
in private, who ought beſt to know the bottom of it, they
conceded that it was yet Myſterious; that they could not ſay the
believ'd it; but however that the Parliament and Nation were ſo
generally and ſtrongly poſſeſt with it, that it muſt of Neceſſity be pur-
ſued as if it were true, whether it was ſo or not: And that without the
King's ſuiting with his People upon this point, he would never grow
entire into Eaſe at Home, or Conſideration Abroad.

Upon ſeveral days thought of this whole Affair, I concluded it a Scene unfit for ſuch Actors as I knew my ſelf to be; and reſolv'd to avoid the Secretary's Place, or any other publick Employment at Home, my Character Abroad ſtill continuing. This I acquainted my neareſt Friends with; order'd the Money to be return'd, which had been provided by them; and fell into the Conſultations how I might get off this Point, without any thing that might appear Undutiful or Ungrateful to His Majeſty. The Elections were Canvaſing for a new Parliament, and I order'd my Pretenſions ſo as they came to fail. In the mean time I defer'd my entring into the Secretary's Place, till I might likewiſe enter into the Houſe of Commons, which both his Majeſty and Lord Treaſurer were ſatisfied with, though not Lord *Sunderland*. But when that Parliament was choſen, and I not of the Houſe; I repreſented to his Majeſty how unfit it was to have a Parliament meet without his having one Secretary of the Houſe of Commons, and how uſeful Mr. *Coventry* would be to him there; and ſo obtain'd a Reſpite till I could be choſen of the Houſe; which was endeavour'd upon each doubtful Election, eſpecially that at *Windſor*, but however could not be carry'd.

The ſhort Parliament met, with the Diſputes between the Court and the Commons about the Speaker, begun indeed upon a Pique between the Treaſurer and Mr. * *Seymour*, or rather between my Lady *Pooley* and him. However it was, this ſoon ran the Houſe into ſuch Violences againſt my Lord *Treaſurer*, as ended in his Ruin; firſt by the King's ſudden Reſolution to remove him; then by the Commons continuing their Purſuits and Impeachments; and laſt by his Lordſhips firſt concealing, and then producing himſelf in the Face of this Storm, which ended in the *Tower*.

* *Afterwards* Sir Edw. Seymour.

After theſe Heats of the Commons, which encreas'd into new Meaſures and Motions among them, as they were ſway'd by popular Humours upon the Plot, and many new Plots laid by the Ambitions of private

Perſons

Perſons carry'd on under Covert of the other; I never ſaw any Man ſenſible of the Miſcarriage [illegible] upon many Diſcourſes upon that Subject, which [illegible] reſpondence made way for, [illegible] that ſeem upon the laſt Proſpect of [illegible] with whom he could ſo much as ſpeak of [illegible] Lord Treaſurer's being gone. And this gave, [illegible] Occaſion of entring into more Confidence with me, [illegible] expect.

On the other ſide I found, that the Counſel of my Lord Treaſurer's Removal, had been carry'd on by the Duke of *Monmouth*, in Confederation with the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth* and Lord *Eſſex*, who was then in the [illegible] Confidence with the Duke of *Monmouth*, and by him and Lord *Sunderland*, newly brought into the Treaſury. I found my Lord *Sunderland* at laſt in compliance with this Knot, and that all were reſolv'd to bring my Lord *Shaftsbury* again into Court, who was in Confidence with the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Eſſex*, and had a near Relation to Lord *Sunderland*. I obſerv'd the great Affection His Majeſty had to the Duke of *Monmouth*, and how plainly the Uſe his Grace intended to make of it, in caſe he could introduce a Miniſtry at his own Devotion, or in his Intereſts: And this being a Matter that might concern the very Succeſſion of the Crown, and not only an Injury to the Duke, but through him to his Children, and the Prince of *Orange*; I reſolv'd firſt, if it were poſſible, to break the Growth of that Miniſtry, though I ſaw no Men whom I could deſign to fix in it, with any Satisfaction or Advantage to the King or his Service.

On t'other ſide, I obſerv'd the Parliament to grow every Day more Violent, upon the Support they receiv'd from the Humours rais'd by the Plot, and the Inceptives given them by the Ambitions of Perſons Playing that Game. I ſaw a probability of matters growing to ſuch a Paſs, that His Majeſty might be forc'd to part with them; and yet I ſaw not Authority enough left in the Crown either to do That without the venture of great Miſchiefs, or to live without another Parliament till the preſent Humours might Cool. And both theſe Conſiderations meeting together, caſt me upon the Thoughts of the King's Eſtabliſhing a new Council, of ſuch a Conſtitution as might either gain Credit enough with the preſent Parliament, by taking in ſo many Perſons of thoſe who had moſt among them, and thereby give Eaſe and Quiet both to the King and his People; Or, if on the other ſide, the Humours ſhould grow Outragious and beyond Oppoſing, the King might yet at the Head of ſuch a Council, with more Authority and leſs Hazard of ill Conſequences, either Prorogue or Diſſolve them, as any Neceſſities of his own, or Extravagancies of theirs ſhould require.

For theſe Ends it ſeem'd neceſſary to take into the Council ſome Lords and Commoners, who were of moſt appearing Credit and ſway in both Houſes, without being thought either Principled or Intereſted againſt the Government; and mix them with others of His Majeſty's more General Choice, for making up one Half of the Council: Whilſt the other Half being Fifteen, were ever to be the preſent chief Officers of his Crown and Houſhold: Who being all of His Majeſty's known Truſt, as well as Choice, would be ſure to keep the Council Steddy to the true Intereſt of His Majeſty and the Crown.

But one chief Regard neceſſary to this Conſtitution, was That of the perſonal Riches of this new Council; which in Revenues of Land or Offices, was

was found to amount to near Three Hundred Thousand Pounds a Year: Whereas those of a House of Commons are seldom found to have exceeded Four Hundred Thousand Pounds. And Authority is observed much to follow Cash: And at the worst, such a Council might out of their own Stock, and upon a Pinch, furnish the King so far, as to relieve some great Necessity of the Crown.

This whole Matter was consulted and deduc'd upon paper, only between the King and me, and lasted in the Debate and Digestion about a Month: But when the Forms and Persons were agreed, and His Majesty seem'd much satisfied with the Thing, and resolv'd to go on with it, I humbly desired him not to take a Resolution of that Importance, without first communicating it to Three or Four Persons of those His Majesty could most rely upon in Point of Judgment, Secrecy, and Affection to his Service. The King resolv'd I should go and Communicate the whole Scheme, with all the Particulars of it, to my * Lord Chancellor, Lord *Sunderland*, and Lord *Essex*; but, one after another; and with Charge from Him of the last Secrecy; and should bring him Word of their Opinions upon it; and if they concurr'd with His, should appoint them to attend His Majesty next morning; the Chancellor only entring into his Lodgings by the Common Way, but the other Two and I by the private One below.

* *Finch.*

When I acquainted them with it, they all receiv'd it with equal Amazement and Pleasure. My Lord Chancellor said, it look'd like a Thing from Heaven fallen into His Majesty's Breast: Lord *Essex*, that it would leave the Parliament and Nation in the same Dispositions to the King which he found at his Coming in: And Lord *Sunderland* approv'd it as much as any.

Next Day we attended His Majesty, and had a very long Audience, upon which no Difficulty arose but Two that were wholly Personal. I had propos'd Lord *Hallifax* as one of the Lords whom the King had indeed Kick'd at in our first Consultations, more than any of the rest: But upon several Representations, of his Family, his Abilities, his Estate and Credit, as well as Talent to Ridicule and Unravel whatever he was spited at, I thought His Majesty had been contented with it: But at this Meeting, he rais'd new Difficulties upon it, and appear'd a great while invincible in them, though we all join'd in the Defence of it: And at last, I told the King, we would fall upon our Knees to gain a Point that we all thought necessary for his Service: And then His Majesty consented.

The other was concerning Lord *Shaftsbury*, who had never been mention'd in our first Debates; and the King either had not thought of Him before upon this Affair, or had not mention'd Him to me, as knowing upon all Occasions of private Discourse with his Majesty, what Opinion I had of that Lord. But after my Lord *Hallifax* had pass'd, the King said there was another, who if he were left out might do as much Mischief as any, and named Lord *Shaftsbury*; to which the other Three agreed, and concluded farther, that he would never be content with a Councellor's Place among Thirty, and therefore it was propos'd to add one to the Number by making a President, which should be he. I disputed this Point from the first Mention to the last Conclusion of it, foretelling he would destroy all the Good that we expected from the whole Constitution; and said all that I could with so much Earnestness, that when by His Majesty's agreeing with the other Three, I saw it would be concluded, I walk'd away to the other End of the Room, not knowing well whether I should have gone out or

not

not, if the Door had been Open; but returning again, I desir'd His Majesty to Remember, that I had no part in [illegible]'s coming into His Council or His Affairs; that His Majesty and the other Three Lords had resolv'd it without me; and that I was still absolutely against it. The King Laugh'd, and turn'd my Anger into a Jest; and so went on with the rest of the Constitution intended, till the whole was resolv'd and executed publickly in Easter 1679. *See the Appendix.*

The Night before the Thing was to be done, His Majesty thought fit to tell it the Duke of *Monmouth*; having kept it Secret till then, further than to the Four already named. But as soon as the Duke of *Monmouth* knew, though only in General, that the Council should be chang'd, he told it so many, that it was common Talk next Morning; which we interpreted either Lightness or Vanity, to have it thought that he had part in an Affair likely to pass so well. And indeed when the Thing was done in the Forms that are known, it was receiv'd with general Applause in the Country, with Bonfires in the City, and the same in *Ireland*: In *Holland* the Actions of the *East-India* Company rose upon it immediately, and very much; and the States design'd one of their best and most considerable Men, Monsieur *Van Lewen*, to come over Minister into *England* upon this Occasion. *France* alone was unsatisfy'd with it, and Monsieur *Barillon* said it was making *des Etats* [*States*,] and not *des Conseils* [*Councils*;] but the Reasons were easy to see, and so not much consider'd.

The House of Commons receiv'd it with most Coldness, where the contrary was most expected: And the pretending Knowers among them, who were not of the Council, pretended to know nothing of it, to expect new Revelations, to doubt it might be a new Court Juggle, and to refer it to Time to tell what it was in Truth; In the mean while to suspend their Judgments.

This was the first Effect of my Lord *Shaftsbury*'s good meaning to the King and his Affairs, into which he was entred, but not with the personal or transcendent Credit he aim'd at with his Majesty, and which he thought those who had been Authors of this new Constitution, had the greatest Share in. This made him fall in more absolutely with the Duke of *Monmouth*, and use all their Endeavours to raise such Discontents and Heats in the Houses, upon the Apprehensions of Popery, and Propositions to prevent it, that the King found himself soon upon as uneasy Terms with this Session of Parliament, as he had been with the last; the Humours being engaged by my Lord *Shaftsbury*'s pretending among his Patriots, that the Duke of *Monmouth* had so much Credit with the King, that His Majesty desir'd but a good Occasion of consenting to all the Parliament should insist on, which would be given Him by their Heat and Obstinacy in so popular a Point as that against Popery: And if that were once gain'd, the Duke of *Monmouth* and he should be able to Steer all the rest, to the Satisfaction of those who call'd themselves the *Good* or the *Honest* Party.

Such a mischief could never have grown, if Lord *Shaftsbury* had not work'd himself up into Credit, both in Parliament and City, by the Appearance of having it with the King and in the Council where he was President; and by the Infusions given of his having or growing yet into greater, by a more secret Spring, which was the Interest of the Duke of *Monmouth*, and the Kindness of His Majesty Increasing, as appear'd since the Duke's Absence. I cannot believe but all this would have been avoided, if, upon the new Constitution, Lord *Shaftsbury* had been left out, as a person mark'd by His Majesty

Majesty, and never to enter more into his Affairs or Confidence; which the whole Course of his Life, from his very first Entrance upon publick Stages, if examin'd never so strictly, would have given good Ground for. But this Fate, as I could not prevent by all my Endeavours, so I had foretold it to His Majesty the Year before: When upon my coming over, the King had fallen into all the violent Expressions that could be against him; I told his Majesty, that with his good Leave, I would hold any Wager, I should yet see that Lord again in his Business; and when the King ask'd me what made me think so, I said, because I knew he was restless while he was out, and would try every Door to get in; had Wit and Industry to find out the Ways; and when Money would Work, had as much as any Body to bestow, and Skill enough to know where to place it.

This Turn in the King's Affairs upon this new Constitution, gave me so great a Vexation, and so ill a Prospect, that having delay'd the Time prescribed for every Man's receiving the Sacrament according to Law, after his Entrance into publick Employment, till it was very near expir'd; I once resolv'd, by that Ommission, to make my self absolutely incapable of bearing any for the future: And was not perswaded to lay aside that Thought, till after long Debates upon it with my Wife and Sister here at *Sheen*: But that matter pass'd in Form, and I continued barely of the Council, with a Resolution of not entring upon the Secretary's Office, though often and earnestly urg'd to it by the *Lord Sunderland*, with others of my Friends.

Upon the new Constitution of the Council, my Lord *Sunderland* had, by Mr. *Sydney*, desir'd that we Two might joyn together in perfect Confidence, and distinct from any others in the Course of the King's Affairs, whether I would enter into the other Secretary's Office or not; which I said I was very willing to Embrace, though I knew no Need of it, considering how much the general Affairs were devolv'd upon the Council or the particular Committees, and how much I thought it was fit that they should continue so, without running into any private Channels. This Confidence had not run on above a Fortnight, when my Lord *Sunderland* ask'd me, If I were willing my Lord *Essex* should be receiv'd into it; which I consented to, though with imitation to Lord *Sunderland* of the Opinion I had (for some time of late) of Lord *Essex*, whom I thought I knew better than he did. So we met for a while once a Day by Turns, at each of our Houses, and consulted upon the chief Affairs that were then on the Anvil, and how they might be best prepar'd for the Parliament or the Council: But Matters growing very untoward, by the Practices of Lord *Shaftsbury*, with the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Cover at least, and upon the ill Humour of the House of Commons about the Business of Religion; and so my Lord *Hallifax* appearing unsatisfy'd, by observing where the King's Confidence was; I propos'd to my Lords *Sunderland* and *Essex*, to receive him into all our Consultations; which I thought would both enter him into Credit with the King, and give us more ease in the Course of his Affairs. Lord *Essex* receiv'd this Overture with his usual Dryness; Lord *Sunderland* oppos'd it a good deal, and told me, I should not find Lord *Hallifax* the Person I took him for, but one that could draw with no Body, and still climbing up to the Top himself. However, I continued Resolute in pressing it, and so at length the Thing was concluded, and we fell all Four together into the usual Meetings and Consultations.

The chief Matters that lay before the King at that time, were; first, the

Satisfaction of his People, by falling into some Measures with the Parliament, that might enable him to look Abroad in such a Figure as became the Crown of *England*, and was necessary for preventing the common Fears of a New Invasion of *France* upon *Flanders* or *Holland*, which look'd very Desperate, without some strong and resolute Protection from *England*.

The Second, was, a Resolution to be taken in Answer to the instances made by Monsieur *Van Lewen* from the States, about a new Guaranty to be given upon the late General Peace by His Majesty; particularly to *Spain* in the Business of *Flanders*.

The Third, was the giving some Ease to *Scotland*, where the Humours began to swell about this time; and which we conceiv'd could be no way done so easily, as by removal of the Duke of *Lauderdale*; a Man too much Hated both here and there, to be fit for the Temper His Majesty seem'd resolv'd to Use in His Affairs.

For this Last, we could not upon any Terms obtain it of the King, by all the Arguments us'd (both jointly and severally) by us all Four; the King's Defence being a very true one, that we none of us knew *Scotland* so well as his Majesty Himself.

For the Second, we easily agreed upon the Measures that seem'd necessary for the Satisfaction of the States, and the Safety of *Flanders*; being all Four of the Committee, where all the Foreign Affairs were consulted; and taking the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury* into the First Digestion of this Treaty with *Holland*, at a Meeting for that purpose, at my Lord *Hallifax*'s House; which was the only time I ever had any Thing to do, or so much as Talk, with my Lord *Shaftsbury* further than the Council Chamber.

For the First thing, which was the most important, we found it more perplex'd than we could imagine. Both Houses of Parliament seem'd to have no Eyes, but for the Dangers of Popery upon the Duke's Succession to the Crown; which Humour was blown up by all the Arts and Intreigues of the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury*. The King seem'd willing to secure them all that could be against those Fears, without changing the Laws in Point of Succession. The House of Commons were busie in finding out Expedients to secure this Point, but could agree on none; being still diverted from fixing on any, by Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Practices. The Council fell upon the same Scent with great Earnestness and Endeavour; and after much Hammering, agreed upon many Heads to be offer'd the Parliament, which are commonly enough known. *See the Appendix.*

These Expedients were agreed to by all the Council, except my Lord *Shaftsbury* and me; who were against them, upon very different Grounds. Mine were Two; First, because *I* believ'd, that nothing that came First from the King upon these Points, would be accepted by the Commons; who if they would be satisfy'd at all, *I* thought should First agree upon What, and leave it to the King to take or refuse.

The Second was, that as *I* did not see any certain Ease these Expedients would give the King, though agreed to by the Houses; so it was evident to all Men, that they would leave the Crown after Him in Shackles, which put on upon the Duke's Occasion, and in his Time, would not be easily knock'd off by any Successor. My Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Ground was plain, and so express'd by him upon all Occasions; which was, that there could be no Security against the Duke, if once in Possession of the Crown; And this being

being well infus'd by his and the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Friends into the House of Commons, occasion'd their sullen rejecting all the Expedient offer'd them by the King, and lay'd the Foundation for the proceedings of the late House of Commons, and the strange Disorders wherein they have left Affairs at Home, and thereby the desperate Condition of Affairs Abroad.

During all these Transactions, the three Lords and I continued our constant Meetings and Consultations; and with so much Union, and so disinterested Endeavours for the General Good of His Majesty's Service and the Kingdom's, that I could not but say to them, at the end of one our Meetings, That we Four were either the Four honest Men in *England*, or the greatest Knaves; for we made one another at least believe, that we were the honestest Men the World.

But this Conjunction held not long: For, after the Houses rejecting the Expedients offer'd by the King and Council, my Lord *Shaftsbury* finding himself neither in Confidence with the King, nor Credit in the Council, turn'd all his Practices and Hopes to the House of Commons, and inflam'd them to that Degree, as made the three Lords of my Commerce begin to grow uneasie, and to cast about which way they might lay this Storm. At length my Lord *Sunderland* told me, that Lord *Essex* and Lord *Halifax* were of Opinion, that it was necessary to take in the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury* into the first Digestion of Affairs, considering the Influence they had upon the House; and for this End to agree with them in the Banishment of the Duke, either for a certain Term, or during the King's Life; and desir'd to know whether I would fall into it with them, and joyn in bringing it about with the King. I told my Lord *Sunderland* positively I would not: For, First, I would never have any thing to do with the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury*; and next, I would never enter into Matters of Difference between the King and his Brother; having upon several Occasions told them both, that I would ever do all I could towards the Union of the whole Royal Family; but never would have any thing to do in the Divisions of it; and no Man should ever reproach me with breaking my Word, and much less the King or the Duke.

This was peremptory, and so it ended; and thereupon the three Lords fell into Meetings and Consultations with the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury*; which I knew nothing of, and began to come less to Council, and to meet no more with my usual Company but upon Occasion, and without the first Confidence; but we still continued our Kindness whereever we met, without my enquiring, or they communicating what past in their new Consultations.

But this lasted not long neither: For within a Fortnight or little more, they began to find the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury* unreasonable, and like to prevail upon the House of Commons, to endeavour bringing the King into Necessities of yielding all Points to them, and thereby leaving the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury* absolutely at the Head of all Affairs; so that the three Lords began to make their Complaints of it, and to fall upon the Thoughts of Proroguing the Parliament, as the only Remedy left in the present Distemper. I agreed with them in this Overture, and the rather because I foresaw it would absolutely break the three Lords from all Commerce with the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury*; And so we agreed to propose it to His Majesty, and that it

[illegible]cepated and resolv'd at Council; where the chief Officers depending upon the King being one half of the Council, and joyning with others of us that were of his more indifferent Choice, we concluded the Resolution could not fail to be taken by the Majority of the Council; if the Reasons and Necessity of it should not prevail with some of those who seem'd most in my Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Confidence, to leave him upon this Occasion. And in this Resolution we parted, and appointed to meet again two Days after, for the fixing it with His Majesty; upon my engaging to go for so long down into the Country, where I staid my two Days, and came up the third Morning early.

Upon my Arrival, I found my Lord *Sunderland* had call'd, or sent several times to my House the Night before, and left Word that he must needs speak with me so soon as I came to Town. I sent immediately to *Whitehall*, but found his Lordship was gone already with the King to the House of Lords; whereupon I went to Lord *Essex*, who was neareſt me, and ask'd whether any thing new had happen'd. He told me that the King had found out, there were Remonstrances ready prepar'd in the House of Commons, to inflame the City and Nation upon the Points of Plot and Popery; and that their three Lordships having upon it consulted with His Majesty, he had resolv'd the Parliament should be Prorouged that Morning, upon the King's coming to the House, and that it could not be allow'd Time or Vent by a Debate of Council; which for my part, I thought an ill Omission, and that it ought to have the Authority of the King with Advice of his Council, according to the usual Forms: But it pass'd otherwise, and with very great Resentment of both Houses; and such Rage of my Lord *Shaftsbury*, that he said upon it loud in the House, that he would have the Heads of those who were the Advisers of this Prorogation.

During this Session of Parliament, I had several Notices given me, of a Practice set on Foot in the House of Commons, for Impeaching me, as one that had been an Instrument of making the general Peace; and this was urg'd by Stories, of being a Man of Arbitrary Principles, and one that had written several Things, though without Name, against the Constitution of Parliaments, and in Favour of Popery: And this went so far, that * Mr. *Montague* went a great Way from Man to Man in the House, to know whether if such an Accusation were brought in, they would be against me. Several went into it upon Hatred to the late Treasurer, whose Friend they took me to be, and upon Envy at my being design'd for Secretary of State; but yet in no such Numbers that Mr. *Montague* could hope to make any thing of it: And when some of my Friends acquainted me with it, I only desir'd them to obtain leave of the House, that I might hear my Accusation at the Bar of the House, and assur'd them that I should be glad to have that Occasion of telling there both Mr. *Montague*'s Story and my own. This fell: But upon the Knowledge of these Practices, my Lord *Sunderland*, and * Mr. *Sidney*, who thought that a Man who had such part in the King's Affairs, ought to stand as well as he could with the House of Commons, press'd me to suffer several small things I had formerly Written, and of which Copies had run, to be then printed, as they were, under the Title of *Miscellanies*. They thought, by that Publication, Men would see, I was not a Man of the dangerous Principles pretended; and I might assure the World, [illegible] being Author of no Books that had

* *Late Duke of* Mountague.

* *Late Earl of* Rumney.

had got my Name [illegible] the thing seem'd to pass well enough; only Lord *Hallifax* commending them to me in General, told me as a Friend, that I should take heed of carrying too far that Principle of Paternal Dominion, (which was deduc'd in the Essay of Government,) for fear of destroying the Rights of the People. So tender was every Body of those Points at that time.

The three Lords and I went on unanimous in our Consultations; considering how to make way for a calmer and better temper'd Session of Parliament, after the short Prorogation which had been made. To which purpose, we again endeavour'd the removal of the Duke of *Lauderdale*, or at least the admission of other Nobles of *Scotland* into those Affairs. We concluded the Measures with *England* in all Points, to the Satisfaction of their Ambassador; and thought of such Acts of Council, as might express His Majesty's Care for suppressing Popery, even in the Intervals of Parliament. We only disagreed in one Point, which was the leaving some Priests to the Law upon the Accusation of being Priests only, as the House of Commons had desired; which I thought wholly unjust, without giving them publick Warning by Proclamation, to be gone, or expect the Penalties of Law within such a time; since the Connivances had lasted now thro' three Kings Reigns: Upon this Point, Lord *Hallifax* and I had so sharp a Debate at Lord *Sunderland's* Lodgings, that he told me, if I would not concur in Points which were so necessary for the People's Satisfaction, he would tell every Body I was a Papist; And upon his Affirming, that the Plot must be handled as if it were true, whether it were so or not, in those Points that were so generally believ'd by City or Country, as well as both Houses; I reply'd, with some Heat, that the Plot was a Matter long on Foot before I came over into *England*; that to understand it, one must have been here to observe all the Motions of it; which not having done, I would have nothing to do with it; In other things I was content to joyn with them, where they thought I could be of use to the King's Service; and where they thought there was none, I was very willing to be excus'd; and very glad to leave His Majesty's Affairs in so good Hands as theirs.

Notwithstanding some such Differences between me and the three Lords, yet we continued our Consultations and Confidence; and two of them, Lord *Sunderland* and *Hallifax*, press'd me extreamly about this time to come into the Secretary's Place. Lord *Hallifax*, particularly, offering to bring it to a Point with his Uncle *Coventry*, upon the Money that was to be paid; pretending to be very desirous to see me posted there; and professing to grow weary of the Business, since he could find no Temper like to grow in the next Session of Parliament between the King and them. For since the last Prorogation, Lord *Shaftsbury* had been busie in preparing Fewel for next Session, not without perpetual Appearance of ill Humour at Council, which broke into spiteful Repartees often betwixt him and Lord *Hallifax*. And on t'other side, the Duke of *Monmouth* had broken all Measures with Lord *Essex*, with whom he had been long in the last Confidence: So as this grew to a spighted Quarrel between these Four; and tho' commonly smother'd when they met, yet not without Smoak appearing where they were observ'd.

In this Condition of Affairs, the Rebellion in *Scotland* broke out; upon which it was pleasant to observe the Counterpaces that were made. The King was for suppressing it immediately, by Forces from hence to be dispatch'd

patch'd and joyn'd with those in *Scotland*, and the Duke of *Monmouth* to go and Command them all. Lord *Shaftsbury* shew'd plainly at Council, and in other Places, that he was unwilling this Rising should be wholly or too soon suppress'd, or otherwise than by his Friends in *Scotland*, who might be thereby introduc'd into the Direction of Affairs there, with the Removal of the Duke of *Lauderdale*: Yet on the other side, he was willing to see the Duke of *Monmouth* grow great by such a Command of the King's Forces both *English* and *Scotch*; and agreed with that Duke, to put the King upon another Project at the same time, and to the same end, which was (upon the Duke of *Monmouth*'s carrying so many of the Forces here into *Scotland*) to raise a Troop of two hundred Gentlemen for the Guard and Safety of the King's Person, whereof the Duke of *Monmouth* to be Captain; and which was to be compos'd chiefly of Officers who were out of Employment, and whose Merits were best known to the Duke of *Monmouth*.

On t'other side, Lord *Essex*, though he agreed with the King's Opinion, to have the *Scotch* Insurrection suppress'd; yet he had a mind it should be done by the *Scotch*, to prevent the Duke of *Monmouth*'s growing greater than he yet was by that Command; especially if it should be follow'd with Success. And though he would not oppose his Majesty in his Resolution of sending the Duke of *Monmouth* upon this Expedition; yet he did very openly the other Design, which the King himself seem'd much bent upon, as well as the Duke of *Monmouth*, to raise the Troop of two hundred Gentlemen. The other two Lords and I fell in with him in this last; though Lord *Essex* was most Instrumental in breaking it, by raising invincible Difficulties in the Treasury, where he was at the Head: So as upon Composition, Money was found for the Duke of *Monmouth*'s marching into *Scotland*, and with great Ease to him in his Personal Pretensions; and the new Troop was let fall upon want of Money.

The Duke of *Monmouth* went into *Scotland*; succeeded; took the Body of Rebels; suppress'd absolutely the Rebellion; order'd the Punishment of some; gave Pardon to the rest; return'd in Triumph; was receiv'd with great Applauses and Court from all; and with great Appearance of Kindness and Credit by the King, who was now remov'd to *Windsor*, and the Council to *Hampton-Court*, where Duke of *Monmouth* was receiv'd.

The term of the Prorogation of Parliament drew near expiring; and all agreed that a Session could not conveniently begin before *October*; and a Day was appointed for considering that Matter at Council. The Duke of *Monmouth* was greater than ever: Lord *Shaftsbury* reckon'd upon being so too upon the next meeting of Parliament, and at the cost of those whom he took to be Authors of the last Prorogation: Lord *Essex*, and *Hallifax*, look'd upon themselves as [illegible] in his Danger, and aim'd at my Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Threats, and out of all Measures with the Duke of *Monmouth*. This induc'd a Consultation among us, whether considering the Distempers of the present Parliament, the best Course were not to dissolve it, and have another call'd in *October*; wherein the three Lords and I agreed, and the King was perfectly of the same Mind, considering with what Distempers that Parliament both began and continued. So it was resolv'd, that the King should propose at next Council, whether it were best to prorogue the Parliament

Parliament, or dissolve it and at the same time call another; and that in the mean time, the Lord Chancellor, and the other chief Officers depending upon the King, should be acquainted with his Mind, either by his Majesty or the three Lords. For since the King's going to *Windsor*, I continued at *Sheen*, and only went to *Hampton-Court* on Council-Days; though the three Lords came often to me, and press'd me as often to come as they did to Court, and Lord *Hallifax* protested he would burn my House, and that if I would not enter upon the Secretary's Office, his Uncle *Coventry* would look out for some other Chapman; for as soon as he had found one, he was resolv'd to part with it. I told him I was very willing, and would speak to the King, that his Market should not be spoil'd upon any Occasion. Whether his Lordship believ'd me or not, I did so, and desired his Majesty to think of some other for that Place; for my ill Health increasing with my Age, made me find my self unable to go through with the Toils of that Office, if executed in the Forms and with the Attendance it required. The King told me, he could not consent to it; that if he should, he knew not a Man in *England* fit for it besides me, so that I had no Reason to take it kindly of him. I desired his Majesty to give me leave, and I would propose three Persons, of which I would undertake every one should be fitter than I. The King would not so much as hear me name them; but told me, 'twas a Point he had been so long fixt in, that he could not change his Resolution.

In our last Meeting, we had calculated how many at Council could in any probability oppose the dissolving of the present Parliament, and calling another; and we had concluded, there could not be above Six in the whole Council that could be against it, at the most; which we thought would be a great Support to the King's Resolution, against all the Exclamations we expected from Lord *Shaftsbury* and his Friends; and at least that it would be safe against the Consequences which were usually deduc'd from the Forms of calling Parliaments always by Advice of the Council, that the dissolving them ought to be so too, at least when it was not at their own Desire.

The Council-Day came; and when I came thither, and found the King and three Lords, with some others already there, I ask'd Lord *Sunderland* and *Hallifax*, whether all was prepar'd, and Lord Chancellor and other chief Officers had been spoke to? They said, no, it had been forgotten or neglected; but the King would do it to each of them apart as they came that Morning, and before the Council began. I thought it hard, a Point of that Importance should be neglected so long; but was fain to content my self with what they told me would be done. The outward Room where the King was, fill'd apace; every one made his Leg to his Majesty, and fill'd the Circle about him as they came in: I was talking apart in a Corner of the Room, till it grew late, and Lord Chancellor told the King that it was so, and I saw the King turn from the Chancellor, and go into the Council-Chamber: All followed; the Council sate; the King propos'd his Thoughts, whether it were best for his Affairs, to Prorogue this Parliament till *October*, or to dissolve it and call another at that time; and desir'd their Lordships Opinions upon it.

I observ'd a general Surprise at the Board, which made me begin to doubt, the King had spoke of it to few or none but the Chancellor before

before he came in: But it soon appear'd he had not so much as done that neither. For after a long Pause, he was the first that rose up, and spoke long, and violently against the Dissolution; was follow'd by Lord *Shaftsbury* in the amplest manner, and most tragical Terms; Lord *Anglesey* follow'd them, by urging all the fatal Consequences that could be. The same Style was pursued by Lord * *Chamberlain*, and agreed to by the Marquess of *Worcester*; and pursu'd from the top to the very bottom of the Table by every Man there, and at a very full Council; except the three Lords, who spoke for the Dissolution, but neither with half the length or force of Argument they intended to have done; leaving that part as I suppos'd to me, who was I confess well enough instructed in the Case, to have said more upon that Argument: But I was affrighted from the first that I heard of my Lord Chancellor's Speech, and still more and more as every Man spoke, at the Consequences happen'd by such a Negligence of my Friends, who had been perpetually about the King, and might so easily have effected what was agreed on, and thought so necessary; I was the last but one to speak, and saw Argument would signify nothing, after such Inequality was declar'd in Number; and so contented my self to say in short, That I thought it was every Man's Opinion, that a happy Agreement between his Majesty and Parliament was of necessity to his Affairs, both at Home and Abroad: That all the Difference, in a Continuance of this, or Assembling of another Parliament, would depend only upon the likelyhood of agreeing better and easier with one than with t'other: That his Majesty had spoken so much of his despair, about any Agreement with this present Parliament, and the Hopes he had of doing it with another; that for my part, I thought That ought to decide it; because I thought His Majesty could better judge of that Point than any Body else. So his Majesty order'd the Chancellor to draw up a Proclamation for dissolving that Parliament, and calling another to Assemble in *October* following: And thereupon the Council broke up, with the greatest Rage in the World, of the Lord *Shaftsbury*, Lord *Russel*, and two or three more, and the general Dissatisfaction of the whole Board.

* Earl of Arlington.

After the Council ended, every Man's Head began to fill with the Thoughts of the new Elections, and several spoke to the King upon that subject. I had resolv'd to stand for the University of *Cambridge*, and the Duke of *Monmouth* being Chancellor, I desir'd the King to speak to him, to write to some of his Friends in my Favour: He excus'd himself, first, upon Engagements; but the King press'd him upon mine, as a Thing of Importance; and that he could not be otherwise engag'd, before he knew of the Parliament's being dissolv'd. I said a good deal too upon it: But do what the King could, by all he was pleas'd to say, the Duke of *Monmouth* would not be brought further, than to say he would not meddle in it one way or t'other; which gave me the first plain and open Testimony of his Dispositions towards me, having ever receiv'd before all outward Civilities, though without my Visits or Attendances. Yet, I think, his Grace kept his Word with me in this point, better than I expected: For my Election in the University proceeded with the most general Concurrence that could be there, and without any Difficulties I could observe from that side; Those which were rais'd, coming from the Bishop of *Ely*, who

owed

own'd the opposing me from a Chapter of Religion in my *Observations on the Netherlands*, which gave him an Opinion, that mine was for such a Toleration of Religion, as is there describ'd to be in *Holland*.

The Council after this Day, was put off till the King's return to *London*, according to the Use of that Season; and every one began to canvas for Elections in the ensuing Parliament, upon which all His Majesty's Affairs seem'd to depend. The King, in the mean time, resolved to do all that could help to make Fair Weather there. I told my Friends I would take care of my Election, and go down about it; but for the rest, would pass my Time at Home the remainder of the Summer, and recommended the common Cares to the Three Lords; whose Attendance I knew would not fail at Court, Two of them from their Offices, and the Third from his Humour; which he own'd always must have Business to employ it, or would else be uneasie.

* *The Marquess of* Halifax.

The Summer was declining; but the Duke of *Monmouth* in his greatest Height; when the King fell sick at *Windsor*, and with Three such Fits of a Feaver as gave much Apprehension, and That a general Amazement; People looking upon any thing at this Time that should happen ill to the King, as an end of the World. I went to *Windsor*, after the Second Fit; and having seen His Majesty, observ'd more Strength and fewer ill Symptoms than had been reported; nor could I think him in Danger, without Accidents, which was to be the Care of his Physicians, who were some of them wholly of my Mind. I found and left the Three Lords very Diligent at Court, in attending both His Person and Affairs, which I was very glad of; and so came Home without entring further into any Discourses with them, than of His Majesty's Sickness; which was then the general Discourse and Care.

About Three or Four Days after, having receiv'd Assurance of the King's certain Recovery, by being free of any Return of his Feaver Fits, I went up to *London* to sollicite a great Arrear of my Ambassies due from the Treasury. The Commissioners were met that Morning at my Lord *Essex*'s House, whither I went strait; but by the Way, heard that the Duke was that Night pass'd through *London*, and rode Post to *Windsor*; which I doubted not, His Highness had been induc'd to by the Reports of the King's Danger, upon the News of His Sickness; and made no further Reflection upon it, than that of the great Surprize, and *martel en tête* [*Uneasiness*] that would be given Lord *Essex* and *Halifax* by this sudden Arrival of the Duke, to whose Interests they had run so Counter, and with such Heights, for several Years. But upon their late separating all Measures from the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury*, I thought I had Field enough left for doing them good Offices to the Duke, when I should see him, which I resolv'd the Next Day.

When I came to Lord *Essex*'s House, and ask'd for the Commissioners, I found they were sate some time, but that Lord *Essex* had newly left them together, and was gone up into his Chamber, whether I was immediately sent for: his Servants went out, and left him Booted, and ready to get up on Horseback. As soon as we were alone, he ask'd me, whether I had not met with strange News, and what I thought of it? I said, it did not seem very strange that the Duke should come, if he thought the King in Danger. Lord *Essex* reply'd, yet 'twas strange he should come without Leave from the King; and that now His Majesty was well, sure he would not think of staying Three Days: That he was going as fast as he could to *Windsor*, to

 see

ſee what all this Buſineſs was; and ask'd me if *I* would not go, which *I* excus'd for that Day, but promis'd the next. In this little Diſcourſe, *I* obſerv'd all along a ſmearing Smile, which *I* knew not what to make of; *I* thought, if it were a Countenance, it was better put on than was uſual with his Lordſhip; and that he ſhould be pleas'd with it at Heart, *I* could not well imagine, knowing how Things had paſs'd between the Duke and him.

Next Day I went to *Windſor*; and the firſt Man I met was Lord *Hallifax* coming down from Court on Foot, and with a Face of Trouble; and as ſoon as he ſaw me, with Hands lift up Two or Three times; upon which I ſtop'd, and alighting, ask'd what was the Matter: He told me, I knew all as well as he; that the Duke was come; that every Body was amaz'd; but where we were, or what would be the next, no Body knew: He bid me go on to Court before the King went out; ſaid he was going to his Lodging, to ſit and think over this new World; but deſir'd we might meet, and my Lord *Sunderland*, after Dinner.

I went to the King; and after him to the Duke, who receiv'd me with great Kindneſs, and preſently carry'd me into a little inner Room, and ask'd me, ſmiling and very familiarly, whether I did not Wonder to ſee him here: I told him, not at all, if he had thought the King in Danger; for in that Caſe His Highneſs had nothing elſe to do: And that I believ'd upon the firſt News of His Majeſty's Illneſs, he would come as near as he could, either to *Newport* or *Calais*, and there expect the next News; but that His Majeſty's Sickneſs having paſs'd ſo ſoon, I confeſs'd I had not thought of his coming over. We talk'd of the King's Recovery; what Stay his Highneſs would make, which he ſaid ſhould be as the King pleas'd, for he would obey Him in every Thing. I gave the Duke a ſhort Account of Affairs here, as they had paſs'd ſince the Conſtitution of the Council; of the Miſchiefs had been occaſion'd by the Lord *Shaftsbury*'s having been brought in ſo much againſt my Will; of his Meaſures with the Duke of *Monmouth*; of the Three Lords having abſolutely broken from him; of the Credit they were grown into with the King; and of my Confidence, they would never fall into any Meaſures againſt his Highneſs: Upon which Chapter I ſaid a good deal that I thought neceſſary to make Lord *Eſſex* and *Hallifax*'s Court, which I was very glad to ſee ſo well receiv'd by the Duke: For as to Lord *Sunderland*, I had little Reaſon to believe he needed it, having ever been in with the Court in the whole Courſe of his Life. For my ſelf I only ſaid at laſt, that becauſe I did not know what our preſent Diſtempers might end in, if the next Parliament ſhould prove of the ſame Humour with the Two laſt; nor what Meaſures his Highneſs would fall into about ſtaying or going away again; I would only ſay, that let whatever would befal the King's Affairs or his Highneſs's, he might always reckon upon me as a *legal* Man, and one that would always follow the Crown as became me; nor could any thing make the leaſt Scruple in this Reſolution, unleſs Things ſhould ever grow ſo deſperate, as to bring in Foreigners, which (if ever it ſhould be) would be a new Caſe, and that I knew not what to think of. Upon this the Duke laid his Hand upon mine, and bid me keep there, and ſaid, that he would ask no more of me or any Man: And ſo I parted after a long and very gracious Audience, and came Home that Night, having miſs'd my Lord *Hallifax* and *Eſſex* in the Afternoon at Lord *Sunderland*'s, where we had appointed to meet, and I came, but they fail'd; and Lord *Sunderland* and I talk'd deep into nothing, reſerving our ſelves, as I thought, till the others came.

I ſtay'd at Home making the Reflections I could not avoid upon the Carriage of my Friends; till within a few Days I heard the News of the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Diſgrace; which tho' it came by ſome Degrees, yet they were ſo ſudden one after another, as to make it appear a loſt Game in the King's Favour and Reſolutions. Though nothing could ſeem more reaſonable than that which it ended in, That while the Duke was abroad, the Duke of *Monmouth* ſhould be ſo too; having made his Pretenſions ſo evident, and purſu'd them ſo much to the Prejudice of the King's Affairs; However, I could not but Wonder, how the Duke had been able in ſo few Days, or rather Hours, to get ſo great a Victory. I went within a Day or Two to *London*, found my Lord *Hallifax* in Phyſick, but ſaw plainly his Diſtemper was not what he call'd it; his Head lock'd very full, but very unquiet; and when we were left alone, all our Talk was by Snatches; Sickneſs, ill Humour, Hate of Town and Buſineſs, Ridiculouſneſs of Humane Life; and whenever I turn'd any thing to the preſent Affairs after our uſual manner, nothing but Action of Hands or Eyes, Wonder and Signs of Trouble, and then Silence.

I came Home, and ſatisfy'd enough upon what Terms I was with my Friends, though I knew not whence it came, or whether it went. But I ſoon found out the whole Secret; which was that upon the King's firſt Illneſs, the Lord *Eſſex* and *Hallifax* being about him, thought his Danger great, and their own ſo too; and that if any thing happen'd to the King's Life, the Duke of *Monmouth* would be at the Head of the Nation, in oppoſition to the Duke upon Pretence of Popery, and in Conjunction with Lord *Shaftsbury*, who had Threaten'd to have their Heads upon Prorogation of the laſt Parliament; which Threat was apply'd by Lord *Eſſex* and *Hallifax* to themſelves; reckoning Lord *Sunderland* out of Danger by his Relation to Lord *Shaftsbury*, and the fair Terms That had always made between them. This Fright had ſo affected theſe Lords, that not ſtaying to ſee what the King's Second Fit would be, they propos'd to the King the ſending immediately for the Duke; which being reſolv'd, and the Diſpatch made with all the Secrecy and Speed imaginable, the Duke came over; but finding the King recover'd, it was agreed to paſs for a Journey wholly of his own, and that it ſhould be receiv'd by His Majeſty and the Three Lords with all Signs of Surprize: When this was done, they found the Duke of *Monmouth* ſo inrag'd at this Council, as well as Lord *Shaftsbury*, that they ſaw no Way but to ruin them both, and throw them quite out of the King's Affairs, and joyning themſelves wholly with the Duke's Intereſt; which they did for that Time, till they had brought about all His Highneſs deſir'd for His Security againſt the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury*; the firſt going over into *Holland*, and the other being turn'd out of the Council.

For my own part, though I was glad of any Mortification that happen'd to the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury*, whoſe Deſigns had run the Kingdom into ſuch incurable Diviſions and Diſtractions, at a Time that our Union was ſo neceſſary to the Affairs of Chriſtendom abroad; yet I was ſpighted to the Heart, at the Carriage of my Friends towards me in this Affair: And not ſo much for their taking ſuch a Reſolution without my Knowledge and Concert, (which they never had done ſince our firſt Commerce,) as for keeping me Ignorant after the Duke's coming over; and ſo far, as to let me make ſuch a Figure as I did, in doing all the good Offices, and making all the Court I could to the Duke, for Lord *Eſſex* and *Hallifax*, as I told them I would do; while they were both in the Depth and Secret of his intereſts and Counſels; and I who had Reaſon to think my ſelf well with

his Highneſs, was left wholly out of all Confidence both with him and with them. But I had a Reaſon to reſent it yet further; when I found that ſome of them perceiving the Duke much unſatisfy'd with the Conſtitution of the new Council, had, to make their own Court, laid the whole Load of it upon me; whereas, if my Lord Chancellor, Lord *Sunderland*, and Lord *Eſſex* had not fallen into it with the greateſt Applauſes and Endeavours in the World to miſh the Draught of it, the Thing had certainly dyed; and for my own Part, after I could not hinder my Lord *Shaftsbury*'s being brought in, I would have been very well content it ſhould.

I could not but tell my Lord *Sunderland* of theſe Reſentments; and that I found my ſelf ſo unfit for Courts, that I was reſolv'd to paſs the reſt of my Life in my own Domeſtick, without troubling my ſelf further about any publick Affairs, than not to appear ſullen in not coming ſometimes to general Councils; and that Lord *Eſſex* and *Halifax*'s Carriage to me had been ſuch, after having been the Two Men of *England* I had it in my power and my Fortunes moſt to oblige, that I would never have any thing more to do with them. This I ſaid only to one Perſon more; and how it came to be known by their Two Lordſhips, I cannot tell; but there all Commerce between us ended, further than what was Common when we met at Council, or in Third Places; though Lord *Halifax* came to an Eclairciſſement with me the Spring after, which ended very well, and I did him the Service I could upon Occaſion in the late Houſe, as well as in Council, upon their Heats againſt him.

I paſs'd the reſt of the Summer at Home, and left the Three Lords in the chief Miniſtry and ſole Confidence, as outwardly appear'd, both with the King and Duke: And Lord *Eſſex* told my Brother Sir *John Temple* who was then here, that he had more Credit with the King than all the reſt of the Miniſters, or any Man in *England*; But the refin'd Courtiers, who obſerve Countenances and Motions, had no Opinion of it: And ſoon after Lord *Eſſex* and *Halifax*, upon the private Examination of an Intrigue I could never make any thing of, nor thought worth my Enquiry, which was commonly call'd the *Meal-Tub-Plot*, took ſuch a Diſtaſte at finding themſelves mention'd in it, and yet left out of the Secret Examinations about it, that the Duke was no ſooner gone, but their Diſcontents grew open againſt the Court; my Lord *Eſſex* left the Treaſury; Lord *Halifax* in Diſcourſe to me commended him for it, and told me his Reſolution to go down into the Country; and though he could not plant Melons as I did, being in the *North*, yet he would plant Carots and Cucumbers, rather than trouble himſelf any more about Publick Affairs; and accordingly he went down to *Ruſford*. To their nearer Friends I heard they complain'd, that they found they had no ſound Part in the King's Confidence or the Duke's; that they were but other Mens Dupes, and did other Mens Work; and that finding no Meaſures would be taken for ſatisfying and Uniting the Kingdom, they would have no more Part in Publick Affairs.

Upon Lord *Eſſex*'s leaving the Treaſury, Mr. * *Hyde* came of Courſe to be Firſt Commiſſioner; and he and Mr. † *Godolphin*, were brought into the Council; where I met them the the next time I came, and welcom'd them, as Two Perſons that had always been my Friends, and agreed with me in all my Opinions and Meaſures about Affairs Abroad, wherein only we had been Converſant in our Commerce, either at *Nimeguen*, the *Hague*, or at Home. Theſe Two joyn'd in Confidence with Lord *Sunderland*,

* *Now Earl of Rocheſter.*

† *Now Earl of Godolphin.*

and; and the other Two Lords being in Discontent or Absent, and I staying at Home both upon my Resolution and Inclination; these Three were esteem'd to be alone in the Secret and Management of the King's Affairs, and look'd upon as the Ministry.

October came on, wherein the Parliament was to meet. The Duke was in *Flanders*: The Duke of *Monmouth* in *Holland*: Lord *Shaftsbury* endeavour'd to enflame the Reckoning of the late Conduct and Counsels against the Sitting of Parliament, and to set afoot Petitions in case they did not Sit: The Ministers were not able to stand the opening of the Parliament; and so a short Prorogation was expected some Days before that appointed for their Assembly. I had not been at Court or Council in a Month or Six Weeks; when being recover'd of a Fit of the Gout, I came to Town, and went to Lord *Sunderland*, talk'd to him of my several Arrears in the Treasury, desir'd his Help, which he promis'd with great Kindness, and went with me to the King, where we propos'd and agreed the Way of my Satisfaction. The King seem'd very kind to me, but neither one or t'other of them said a Word to me of any Publick Business. From the King's Chamber we went to the Council, where I expected nothing but such Common Things as I knew had pass'd for a good while before; and so all pass'd, till I thought the Council was ending, when the King after a little Pause told us, That upon Many Considerations, which he could not at present acquaint us with, he found it necessary to make a longer Prorogation than he had intended, of the Parliament: That he had consider'd all the Consequences, so far as to be absolutely resolv'd, and not to hear any Thing that should be said against it: That he would have it Prorogued till that time Twelvemonth; and charg'd my Lord Chancellor to proceed accordingly.

All at Council were Stunn'd at this Surprizing Resolution, and the Way of proposing it; except those few that were in the Secret, and they thought fit to be silent, and leave the Thing wholly upon His Majesty: Several others rose up, and would have entred into the Reasonings and Consequences of it; but the King would not hear them, and so all Debate ended. After which I rose, and told the King, That as to the Resolution he had taken, I would say nothing, because he was resolv'd to hear no Reasoning upon it; therefore I would only presume to offer him my humble Advice as to the Course of his future Proceedings; which was, That His Majesty in His Affairs would please to make use of some Council or other, and allow Freedom to their Debates and Advices; after hearing which, His Majesty might yet resolve as he pleas'd. That if he did not think the Persons or Number of this present Council suited with His Affairs, it was in his Power to Dissolve them and Constitute another of Twenty, of Ten, or of Five, or any Number he pleas'd, and to alter them again when he would; but to make Counsellors that should not Counsel, I doubted whether it were in his Majesty's Power or not, because it imply'd a Contradiction; and so far as I had observ'd, either of former Ages or the present, I question'd whether it was a Thing had been practis'd in England *by His Majesty's Predecessors, or were so now by any of the present Princes of Christendom: And I therefore humbly advised him to Constitute some such Council, as he would think fit to make use of, in the Digestion of his great and Publick Affairs.*

His Majesty heard me very Graciously, and seem'd not at all displeas'd with any thing I had said; nor any other Person of the Lords of the Council, but most very much to approve it: Yet after the Council was up, my Lord Sunderland *came to me, told me, he was never so surpris'd as at what I had said, and expected it sooner from any Man in* England *than me: That whatever Resolutions had been taken about my Business in the Treasury, he was sure nothing should be done. I*

reply'd,

reply'd, that if he lik'd not what I said, he should have prevented it, by telling me before I came to Council what was intended to be done; which if I had known, which if I had known, I would not have been there, no more than I had been so long before: And that if my Debt would not be paid, I must live the best I could without it.

Not long before, the Prince of *Orange* writ me Word, how much he found the Duke unsatisfy'd with me, upon the Belief that it was I had given the Prince those Impressions and Sentiments which he had upon the common Affairs of Christendom; whereas, he could say on the contrary, that it was he had given me mine, and should never change his own till he were convinc'd *a' avoir tort* [*of being in the Wrong*:] However, that he thought fit out of Friendship to me, to give me this Advice.

I was now in a posture to be admirably pleas'd with having part in publick Affairs. The Duke unsatisfy'd with me of late; the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury* from the very first; Lord *Essex* and *Hallifax* out of all Commerce with me upon what had pass'd; Great Civility from the other Ministers, but no Communication; And the King himself, though very Gracious, yet very Reserv'd. Upon all this, and the melancholly Prospect of our Distractions at Home, and thereupon the Disasters threatning Abroad, but chiefly upon my own Native Humour, born for a private Life, and particular Conversation or genetal Leisure; *I* resolv'd to give over all Part in publick Affairs, and came no more either to Court or Council in a Month's time, which I spent chiefly in the Country.

In this time the Lord *Russel*, Lord * *Cavendish*, Sir *H. Capel*, and Mr. *Powle*, distrasted at the late Prorogation, as well as at the Manner of it, and pretending to despair of being able to serve the King any longer, in a Conduct of Affairs so disagreeable to the general Humour of the People; went to the King together, and desir'd His Majesty to excuse their Attendance any more upon him at Council, which the King very easily consented to. Lord *Salisbury*, Lord *Essex*, and Lord *Hallifax*, seem'd to have taken the same Resolution, though not in so much Form. Upon which I thought it might be a great Prejudice to His Majesty's Affairs, to be left by so many at once; And that, if I wholly gave over at the same time, it would look like entring into a Faction, with Persons who were only displeas'd with the present Scene upon Hopes of entring soon upon another, which was no Part of my Thoughts or Designs. Therefore I resolv'd to go again to Council, to shew *I* had not Herded with those that had left it; and that my leaving it too, might not occasion some Men's greater Distastes at the Government.

* *Late Duke of Devonshire.*

In the intermission *I* had made, my Wife continuing her Commerce with my Lady *Sunderland*, had met my Lord there; who taking no Notice of what had pass'd between us, ask'd her how *I* had proceeded in my Business of the Treasury, and whether *I* needed his His Help, which he offer'd with great Friendliness if *I* had Occasion. When *I* came up to Town, and went the first time to Council; after it was done, *I* went to *Lord Sunderland*, told him what regards towards His Majesty had made me come up, and gave him Thanks for his Offers to my Wife: *I* found him return'd to his first Temper towards me; enter'd into common Affairs, but always with Professions of my Resolutions to retire, and my Thoughts of a Journey into *Italy*, which *I* had long promis'd the Great Duke. *I* liv'd on with my *Lord Sunderland* in all Kindness, though not Confidence, which was now wholly between him and Mr. *Hyde* and Mr. *Godolphin*. *I* made Use of his Offers, and by

his

his Help came to an Issue in the most distant Point of my Business in the Treasury.

The second time I was at Council, after my return from *Sheen*, my Lord *Sunderland* told me he was to say something to me from the King, and desir'd we might meet after Council was up. I went to his Lodgings; where he told me that Mr. Secretary *Coventry* being absolutely resolv'd to part with his Place, and the King having found I had long declin'd it, had now Thoughts of consenting to Sir *Lionel Jenkins*'s coming into it upon a Bargain with the Secretary, but that the King would do nothing in it without first letting me know his Thoughts; and ask'd whether I had any Thing to say upon it. I made no Stop in the World, but told his Lordship that the King could do nothing for me that I would take Kinder than this; that I had several Times press'd His Majesty to a new Choice, and once offer'd to Name some to Him that I knew were fit for it; that I had resolv'd against it so long, that His Majesty had no Reason to Rember any of his Engagements to me how voluntary soever; but that he was pleas'd to do it, was the most obliging in the World; and I was resolv'd immediately to go and make him my Acknowledgments: I did so; they were extreamly well taken; the King us'd me with great Kindness; and Sir *Lionel Jenkins* came into the Office.

I pass the Winter in Town, though with much Indisposition; going sometimes to the Council, and sometimes to the Foreign Committee, but not frequently to either, and medling very little with any thing that pass'd there; unless it was what concern'd the Affairs of *Ireland*, which happen'd to be then hot upon the Anvil; the Duke of *Ormond* and Council of that Kingdom, having transmitted several Acts over to the Council here, both of Grace and Supplies, in order to a Parliament to be hold in *Ireland*. This brought Lord *Essex* again into Play, after so much Discontent and so little Attendance for several Months at Council: But his Eye and Heart had ever been bent upon his Return to the Government of *Ireland* which made him steer all by that Compass, and pursue Court or Popular Humour, as he thought either likeliest to further that End. Whenever the *Irish* Acts came into Council, he was sure to be there; first raising twenty Difficulties in the particular Acts, and arraigning, not only the Prudence, but common sense of the Lord Lieutenant and Council there: Then arguing against the assembling a Parliament in that Kingdom; and at last introducing Sir *James Sheen* to make Proposals of encreasing the King's Revenue there near eighty thousand Pounds a Year upon a new Farm to himself and the Company he offer'd to be joyn'd with him; a Farm indeed, as it was drawn up, not of the Revenue, but of the Crown of *Ireland*.

This Scheme was ever supported by Lord *Essex*; and ever oppos'd by me, with more sharpness than was usual to me upon any Debates; because I had found out the Cheat of the whole Thing, which Lord *Essex* had set on Foot as a great Master-piece of that Cunning, which his Friends us'd to say was his Talent, and was one for which of all other Talents I had ever the greatest Aversion. The short of this Story was, Lord *Essex* had a mind to be Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and to hinder any Parliament being call'd till he came to the Government. He saw himself out at Court; and the Hopes of getting in by his Interest in Parliament, now delay'd by the Prorogation longer than he could stay. He Projects this Farm with Sir *James Sheen*, and by him offers it to

Mr.

Mr. Hyde with the Advantages mention'd to the King's Revenue; but agreed with Sir James, that if the Bait were swallow'd, he should upon the Conclusion of all declare, That he and his Company were ready to perform all the Conditions agreed on; but could not do it, unless my Lord Essex might be sent over Lieutenant of Ireland; without which the Condition of that Kingdom could never be settled enough for such Advantages to the King's Service and Revenue. This I knew, under Secrecy, from a Confident of Sir James Sheen, who had told himself this whole Project and the Paces intended.

Mr. Hyde, who was at the Head of all Matters concerning the King's Revenue, had receiv'd this new Proposal, and imbrac'd it very Warmly; whether prevail'd upon by the specious Shew of so great Encreases in the Revenue, or by some new Measures growing between him and Lord Essex in other Affairs, I never could determine; but such a Patronage at Council gave Strength to the Debates, being little oppos'd but by Sir Lionel Jenkins and me, who laid the matter so bare, that it drew out into Length that whole Spring; and the King joyn'd wholly with me in the Opinion of the Thing, and so far, that when it was to come to Council or Committee, his Majesty sent particularly to me to be there.

In the midst of these Agitations the Duke came over out of Flanders, and Resolution was taken for his going into Scotland. I was extreamely concern'd for the Duke of Ormond, who had fallen into Danger of the Consequences threaten'd by these Intrigues and Pursuits, after the most sensible Blow that could be given him by the Death of his * Son; and was both of an Age and Merits to expect no more Reverses of Fortune, after so many as he had run through in the Course of his Loyalty. I saw Mr. Hyde violently bent upon Sir James Sheen's imaginary Project; and I doubted, with some Pieque to the Duke of Ormond, and Partiality to Lord Essex. The King seem'd to grow Weary of so much Pursuit; and Lord Sunderland was indifferent in the Thing: So that I resolv'd to try if I could Engage the Duke to support the Duke of Ormand; and the second time I was with His Highness, after his coming to Court, I fell into this whole Business and the Consequences of it, and laid open the Secret of the Thing. The Duke seem'd very Favourable to Lord Essex, and more indifferent to the Duke of Ormond than I expected; which made me fall very freely into the Character of them both, which the Duke seem'd at last to allow with the Distinction they deserv'd, and profess'd to desire the Duke of Ormand should be continued; though if he were remov'd at any time, he still seem'd to think Lord Essex the first to succeed him. But I found some Days after, by Sir Lionel Jenkins, that His Highness had been very glad to find me so fixt in that Business to the Duke of Ormond, and that he would give him what Support he could.

* The Earl of Ossory.

Upon the Motions of this Affair, I grew into more Attendance upon His Majesty, and more Commerce both with Lord Sunderland and Mr. Hyde; with whom I always liv'd very well, though we differ'd so much in Opinion upon this Irish Business. But continuing still my Resolutions of Winding my self out of all publick Business; and to that End talking often to them of my Design to make a Journey to Florence, both upon Occasion of my Health and Promise; they both propos'd to me, if I had a mind to go into a hot Country, to go into Spain, and do it with a Character from the King, who was likely to have Affairs there; rather than make a Journey, like young Gentlemen, only to see the Country. I told them how unwilling

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I was to charge my self again with the Ceremonies and Fatigue of an Embassy; or to run again the Hazard I had done so often already, of being undone by those Employments: That if I could resolve on it, I did not see what Affairs the King could have in *Spain*, whilst he had such as he seem'd to have at present in *England*; nor could I see what use any Leagues or Measures Abroad could be to him, unless some Unnion at Home would enable Him to support them. This Conversation however was often renew'd between Us, and at last I found out, that to prepare for a good Session of Parliament next Winter the Ministers were resolv'd upon all Measures that might conduce towards it during the Summer; and, as one of the Chief, were resolv'd to send Ministers to *Spain*, *Denmark*, and other of the Confederates, and enter with them into the strictest Measures for the common Defence against the Power of *France*.

I found the Ministers were mighty earnest to engage me in this Ambassy, as believing my charging my self with it would give a general Opinion, both at Home and Abroad, of our Sincerity in the Thing. The King spoke to me, and seem'd very desirous of my Undertaking it. I defended my self a good while, having indeed no Opinion the Thing had a good Root, or that the Appearance of it would have the Effect hoped for upon the next meeting of Parliament: But at last I brought it to this Point; that I would not charge my self with going to make the intended Alliance in *Spain*; but if the King should think fit to conclude it here with the *Spanish* Ambassador upon Terms of mutual Satisfaction, I would be content to go and cultivate it in *Spain*. This was done by the Ministers; the King declar'd me His Ambassador Extraordinary at *Madrid*; I pass'd my Privy Seal, receiv'd my Equipage, and spent the latter end of the Summer in the Preparations for my Journey, which were in a manner finish'd about the middle of *September*; when the King told me, that since the Parliament drew so near, and so much depended upon it of all that concern'd him either Abroad or at Home, he was resolv'd to have me stay at least the opening of it, by which we should judge of the further Progress.

From what Seeds the Discontents and Violent Proceedings of this last Session grew, I have told already; but by what Motions and Degrees they came to such a Height, is another Story, and may have had some Roots which I did not Discover; but what I observ'd was this. After the Duke's Return into *Flanders*, he had the King's Leave to come over again in some Months. The Duke of *Monmouth* came back out of *Holland* without Leave, and so came not to Court; and thereby seem'd to make himself the Head of those that were Discontented, either with the Dukes Return, or the Intermission of Parliament. In acting this Part, he was guided by *Shaftsbury*, who resolv'd to blow up the Fire as high as he could, this Summer so as to make the Necessity the greater of the Parliament sitting at the time appointed. And because Boldness looks like Strength; to encourage his Party with an Opinion of both, he engag'd several Lords and among them Lord *Russel*, to go with him to *Westminster*-Hall publickly, and there at the King's Bench to present the Duke as a Rescuant. Though the Matter had no Consequences in the Forms of the Court; yet it had a general one upon the Minds of the People, and a strong one upon the Passi-ons of all those Persons that were so publickly engag'd in this bold Pace against the Duke; which was breaking all Measures with him, and entring into the desperate Resolution of either Ruining His Highness or Themselves: And I found it had a great Effect upon the small Circle of my Acquaintance or Observation.

Lord *Essex* who had pursu'd his Return to the Government of *Ireland*, by Engines at Court for Six Months past; began to let all that Business of Sir *James Shaw* cool, and to reckon upon laying a surer Foundation for that Design, from the Credit he intended to gain in the approaching Parliament. Upon this he began to fall into new Commerce with Lord *Shaftsbury*; who told him in those shameless Words, *My Lord, if you will come in to us, never trouble your self, we'll make you Lieutenant of Ireland.* The way to this return, was to oppose the Duke's Stay here upon the several Passages he made, but chiefly upon that before the Session of Parliament. Lord *Hallifax*, tho' he fell not in with Lord *Shaftsbury*, yet was glad to make fair Weather against the Parliament met, by his Oppositions to the Duke. Lord *Sunderland* was struck with the Boldness of the Lords Presentment in *Westminster*-Hall, and the Consequence of such Men being so desperately Engag'd in an Attempt wherein they were like to be Seconded by the Humour of the Nation upon the Alarms of Popery; which made him conclude, the King would not be able to Support the Duke any longer, but would be forc'd to seperate his Interests from him at last: And he believ'd the King himself was of the same Mind, Mr. *Godolphin* fell into the same Thoughts with Lord *Sunderland*, both of the Thing it self, and of the King's Mind in it: So as upon the Debate in Council, concerning the Duke's Stay or going back into *Scotland* before the Parliament met, these Four joyn'd absolutely in the Reasons and Advices for his going away: And though the rest of the Council were generally of the contrary Opinion, yet the King fell in with these Four, and concluded the Thing; against the Duke's Will and his Friends, as *I* have been told: For during all these Transactions *I* was in the Country, with my Thoughts & Preparations wholly turn'd upon my *Spanish* Ambassy; and I was the willinger to be there, upon the Resolution I had long been fix'd in, never to enter into any Differences or Personal Matters between the King and his Brother.

The *Duke* went away, and the Parliament began, with the general Knowledge of so many great Persons having appear'd so publickly against his Highness in *Westminster*-Hall, and so considerable Ones in the Court it self and at the Council-Table: Those of the first Gang fell immediately into the Cabals of Lords and Commons who fram'd the Bill of Exclusion; wherein they were desperately engag'd, not only, as they profess'd, upon Opinion of National Ends, but likewise upon that of Self-preservation, having broken irreparably all Measures already with the Duke: The Generality of the House of Commons were carried, partly with the Plausibleness of the Thing, calculated in Appearance only against *Popery*, without any private Ends as was pretended; and partly with the Opinion of the King's Resolution to fall into it, upon the Observation of such Lords of the Court having engag'd so far in sending away the *Duke*. All the *Duke* of *Monmouth*'s Friends drove it on Violently; not doubting he would lie in the *Duke*'s Place, though no Provision seem'd to be made for that in the Forms of the Draught: And all these Circumstances concurring, made so violent a Torrent for carrying on this Bill, as nothing could resist, or any ways divert; And as it happens upon all Occasions, the small Opposition made by two or three Men, made the Violence the greater.

Besides these general Circumstances, there were two more Particular and Personal, that seem'd to me to have great Influence upon the House: One was, Lord *Russel* setting himself, almost with Affectation at the Head of this Affair; who was a Person in general Repute of an honest worthy

Gentle-

Gentleman, without Tricks or private Ambition, and who
See the Appendix. was known to venture as great a Stake perhaps as any Subject of *England*. The other was Sir *William Jones* entering upon it so abruptly and so desperately as he did, if I mistake not the first Day he came into the House, (at least I have been told so, for I was not there) which was some time after the Session began, having been engag'd in a disputed Election. And this Person having the Name of the greatest Lawyer of *England*, and commonly of a very Wise Man; besides this, of a very Reserv'd of a way or rather timerous Nature; made People generally conclude that the Thing was certain and safe, and would at last be agreed on all Parts whatever Countenance were made at Court.

The Bill past the House of Commons, and was carried up by Lord *Russel* to the House of Lords; as I think, for I was not there at the House. But in the House of Lords it met with another kind of Reception. The King was resolv'd and declar'd, against the Bill: And though Lord *Shaftsbury*, and Lord *Essex*, and as I remember, about fifteen more, were violently for it; yet the rest of the House were Firm and Positive against it, among whom Lord *Hallifax* appear'd most in the Head of all Debates; and so it was, after long Contest, absolutely thrown out. This inrag'd the House of Commons; and having fail'd of the only Thing they seem'd to have at Heart, made them fall upon Persons; engage, first in the pursuit of Lord *Stafford* to the Block, upon the score of the Plot; and then in Addresses, either upon general Discontents in the publick Affairs, or upon common Fame against particular Men.

During the whole Proceedings of this Session of Parliament, I play'd a Part very Impertinent for a Man that had any Designs and Ambitions about him; but for me who had none, (and whose Head was fix'd either upon my Ambassy into *Spain*, or upon my absolute Retirement) the only One wherein I could have satisfy'd my self. As I never entred into publick Business by my own Choice or Pursuit, but always call'd into it by the King or his Ministers; so I never made the common Use of it, by ever asking either Money, Lands, or Honour of his Majesty; though I have been often enough urg'd to it by my Friends, and invited by so great degrees of Confidence & Favour as I have stood in with his Majesty both often and long. I never had my Heart set upon any thing in publick Affairs, but the Happiness of my Country, and the Greatness of the Crown; and in order to that, the Union of both, by which alone I thought both could be atchiev'd. When I fell first into Despair of this, I fell first into a Distaste of all Publick Affairs; which has been nourish'd by a Course of such Accidents and Turns of Court, and Personal Inconstancies or Infidelities, as I have related. By what means I came to be so long Engag'd, as to see this Session of Parliament, I have told, but it is not to be told the Vexation and Trouble which the Course of it gave me. I knew very well, that all the Safety of *Flanders* and *Holland*, depended upon the Union of his Majesty with the Parliament, which might enable him to make such a Figure in *Christendom*, as the Crown of *England* has done, and ought always to do. The *Dutch* had sent over Monsieur *Van Lewen* to make both Court and Country sensible of this Necessity that *Christendom* was in; and how much all would lie at the Mercy of *France*, from the very Day they saw the Hopes of it fail. The House of Commons met, with

such a Bent upon what they thought the Chief of their Home Concerns, that the Name of any thing Foreign would not be allow'd among them; nay, the mention of *Spanish* Leagues, Alliances with *Holland*, and Measures intended by the King with other Confederates, were laugh'd at, as Court-Tricks, and too Stale to pass any more. They fell down-right upon the Point Invincible, which was the Bill of Exclusion; and in Default of that, upon Heats against the Government and the Ministers, not without some glancing at the King. This was return'd with Heats at Court by those Ministers that were chiefly touch'd: Which were Lord *Hallifax*, who by a sudden Turn, whereof I know no Account, had at the beginning of the Session fallen into the open Defence of the Duke's Interests; And Mr. *Hyde*, who by his Relation to the Duke, and by his Education wholly at Court, was ever reckon'd upon as well as found to be first in that Point. Though I did not find by them, that they thought it would be to much Purpose; only they promis'd to agree with the King upon the Draught of some Expedients in the Case, which Lord *Hallifax* had charg'd himself with, and should be charg'd with to the House of Lords, during the Heats of the Commons.

For my own part, so soon as I saw the Bent of the House of Commons, the Violence with which it was carry'd, and the Distractions it was like to engage the Kingdom in, at a time they were so little in Season; I gave over first all Hopes, and then all Thoughts upon so pleasant a Theam In the Business of the Bill I never medl'd, nor so much as reason'd in or out of the House; having declar'd my Opinion to the King and his Ministers, that it was to no purpose to oppose it there; nor for the King to take Notice of the Commons Address upon it, further than to let them know, that whenever any Bills, or any Addresses upon Things of that Nature, were brought to him from both Houses, he would Answer them. By this means I thought the King was sure of his End; for the Bill would certainly fall as often as it came into the House of Lords; and if he should be forc'd to break the Parliament, it would be better done upon invincible Difference between the two Houses, than upon any between his Majesty and the House of Commons. But this Opinion was not agreed to by the chief Ministers. After that, I press'd both the King and them to bring such Expedients as they told me were resolv'd on; that so we might make all the Strength we could to Support them in the House of Commons, and thereby reduce things to some Temper; But these, tho' daily talk'd of, never appear'd. I went not often, either to the House or Council; but when I did, and thought it to any purpose, I endeavour'd to allay the Heats on either Side; and told the King, I expected to be turn'd out of the House in the Morning, and out of the Council in the Afternoon. Mr. *Hyde* ask'd me one Day in the Council-Chamber, why I came so seldom to House or Council; I told him, 'twas upon *Solomon*'s Advice, *neither to oppose the Mighty, nor go about to stop the Current of a River*: Upon which he said, I was a Wise and a Quiet Man; and if it were not for some Circumstances he could not help, he would do so too.

I do not remember to have spoken in the House, but upon the Motion of Supplies for *Tangier*; upon the Digestion of the first Address about general Grievances; and in

See the Appendix.

Cases

Cases of my Lord Chief Justice *North* and my Lord *Hallifax* being Impeach'd upon common Fame; Nor at any general Councils; unless it were upon the House of Commons Address against Lord *Hallifax*, and upon a Debate about Dissolving the Parliament; wherein I desir'd the King and Council, never to lay aside the Thoughts and Endeavours of agreeing either with this or some other Parliament, as a Matter of so great Necessity to the State of His Majesty's Affairs both Abroad and at Home. Lord *Hallifax* answer'd me in few Words, That every Body was sensible of the Necessity of the King's agreeing with his Parliaments, though not with this: And * Mr. *Seymour* told me, he perfectly agreed with me in what I had said. The last Thing I did in House or Council, was to carry the King's last Answer to the Commons, containing his Resolutions never to consent to the Exclusion of the Duke; which Secretary *Jenkins* had been charg'd with the Night before at Council: But he was thought too unacceptable to the House, it seems, for a Message that was like to prove so; and next Morning the King would have had Sir *Robert Carr*, or Mr. *Godolphin* have carry'd it, but they both excus'd themselves; upon which the King sent for me.

* Afterwards Sir E. *Seymour*.

See the Appendix.

I told his Majesty, I did not very well understand why a Thing agreed upon last Night at Council Table, should be alter'd in his Chamber; but that I was very willing however to obey him, and the rather upon others having excus'd themselves, and to shew His Majesty that I intended to play no popular Games: Upon which I took the Paper, and told the King that I was very sensible how much of his Confidence I formerly had, and how much I had lost, without knowing the Occasion; or else I might have had part in the consulting this Change of what was last Night resolv'd, as well as in executing it; and I would confess to His Majesty, that I had not so good a Stomach in Business, as to be content only with *Swallowing what other People had Chew'd*. Upon which I went away, and carry'd my Message to the House, which was receiv'd just as was expected. I tell this Passage freely, as I do all the rest; as the only Thing I could imagine the King could ever take Ill of me; and yet I know not how it could be a Fault, more than in Point of Manners neither, or the Homelineſs of Expression.

That which compleated my Resolution of Recess from all publick Business, was to find, as I thought, very plainly, that both Parties who would agree in nothing else, yet did it in this one Point of bringing Things to the last Extremity. Lord *Shaftsbury* and his Party, thought the Points of popular Discontents and Petitions, or at least, that of the King's Wants, would at last bring the Court to their Mercy in one Parliament or other. Those Ministers who were past all Measures with the House of Commons, thought there was no Way, but by their Heats, to bring the King to a Dislike, and thereby to a Disuse of Parliaments. And by this likewise the Duke's Interest, seem'd at present only to be secur'd. So that where both Parties consented in dividing to Extremity on each Side, no Man could think any longer of Uniting; nor consequently to see the Crown in such a Posture as I had ever wish'd it, and for our Neighbours sakes as well as our own.

I found this yet more Evident at the last Debates, during my Assistance

ſiſtance at the Foreign Committee, concerning the Anſwer His Majeſty return to the repeated Addreſſes of the Houſe of Commons, relating to the Bill of Exclusion. I was of Opinion it ſhould be, That when both Houſes agreed upon an Addreſs to this purpoſe, he would give them an Anſwer; but till then would Suſpend it, and not ſend a poſitive Anſwer to one Houſe upon ſo weighty an Occaſion, which, for ought he knew, might be contrary to the Senſe of the other. By this means he would be ſecure from the Neceſſity of any direct Breach with the Commons; ſince he knew well enough, the Lords would not conſent to the Addreſs. And if the Parliament came to be Diſſolv'd, it were better for the King it ſhould break upon Differences between the two Houſes, than between his Majeſty and them. For this would give the Nation an Opinion, that he was reſolv'd to live without Parliaments hereafter; which might endanger, perhaps our Peace at Home, but would however ruin the Hopes of our Neighbours Abroad, who had no other of defending themſelves againſt *France*, but by the Power of *England*. That if this Parliament broke upon Diſputes or Differences between the two Houſes, it might yet be expected he would call another, and perhaps a third, and agree with ſome of them; by which alone he could be Great and Safe both at Home and Abroad. For it was between the King and his Parliament, as between the Mountain and *Mahomet*, who told the People what Miracles he would do when he was at the Top of the Mountain; and to that purpoſe he would on ſuch a Day call it to him: he did ſo, but the Mountain would not come; whereupon he ſaid, that if the Mountain would not come to *Mahomet*, he would go to the Mountain; for unleſs they both met, no Wonders could be done. The King ſeem'd pleas'd with all I ſaid, and with the Compariſon; but thoſe of the Committee that were Chief in the private Meaſures taken at this time, were for a poſitive Anſwer to be given the Houſe of Commons, let them take it how they pleas'd; and accordingly this was reſolv'd.

However, all theſe Conſiderations or Intereſts could not move the King to diſſolve the Parliament, without calling another at the ſame time to meet at *Oxford* in the Spiring. Whereupon, the Heads of the Univerſity at *Cambridge* ſent to me, to know whether I intended to ſtand again for that Election: I went to the King to acquaint him with it, and know his Pleaſure what Anſwer I ſhould return them: He ſeem'd at firſt Indifferent, and bid me do what I would; But when I ſaid I was very indifferent too, and would do in it what his Majeſty lik'd beſt; he ſaid, in a manner kind and familiar, that conſidering how Things ſtood at this time, he doubted my coming into the Houſe would not be able to do much good; and therefore he thought it as well for me to let it alone, which I ſaid I would do.

When I left the King, I went to my Lord *Sunderland*, and told him what had paſs'd: who took this as the firſt certain Sign of his Majeſty's having fixt his Reſolution, and left off all Thoughts of agreeing with his Parliaments, and of his having taken his Meaſures another way, for the ſupply of his Treaſures in the ill Condition they were in. He knew very well, that during the laſt Seſſion, the King had always told me, that he was reſolv'd to propoſe ſome Expedients to the Houſes, upon which he had hopes they might agree; that he had order'd Lord *Halifax* to draw them up, and had bid me reſerve my Credit in the

Houſe

ouse for that Occasion: And that if there were any Thoughts of reeing with the next Parliament, the King he was sure would have een glad to have had me in the House. He said upon it, in some ssion, that he now gave all for gone, and that he must confess I knew e King better than he had done; and so we parted.

Within few Days, imploy'd wholly in my Domestick Concerns, and in dog to the Remove I intended, I left the Town and went to *Sheen*: From hence I sent the King Word by my Son, that I would pass the rest of y Life like as good a Subject as any he had; but that I would never med- e any more with any publick Affairs; and desir'd His Majesty would ot be Displeas'd with this Resolution. The King very graciously bid im tell me, That he was not Angry with me, no not at all.

I had not been above a Week at *Sheen*, when my Lady *Northumberland* who liv'd then at *Sion*) came to my Closet one Morning, and told me, hat the Day before, my Lord *Sunderland*, my Lord *Essex*'s Names, and nine, were struck out of the Council; which was the first Word I heard f any such thing; and upon which I neither made any Reflections nor In- uiries; though many others seem'd much to wonder, and inquir'd of me what could be the Reason of my being joyn'd with the other two Lords, whose Proceedings had been very Different.

My Lord *Sunderland* was, during the late Session of Parliament, fallen nder a great Displeasure of His Majesty; and into an outragious Quar- el with Lord *Hallifax*. The last happen'd, not only upon their dividing n the Businesses of the Parliament and Council; but likewise upon Lord *underland*'s entring into new Commerce and Measures with Lord *Sh fts- ury*; as my Lord *Hallifax* told me, and which I should not have other- ise known: For if there were any such Commerce, Lord *Sunderland* had nade it a Secret to me; as knowing too well the Aversion I always had of that Lord, and the whole Course of his Proceedings in all Publick ffairs. But Lord *Sunderland* told me another Reason of the Quarrel be- ween him and Lord *Hallifax*; which he said broke out the same Night a ebate arose at Council, concerning an Address of the House of Com- ons against Lord *Hallifax*, wherein Lord *Sunderland* had been of Opini- , the King should not yield to it. But after Council, Lord *Hallifax* ent to Lord *Sunderland*'s Lodgings, where they fell into Discourse of hat had pass'd; and Lord *Sunderland* told him, that though he had gi- n his Opinion at Council, as he thought became him; yet if such an ddress should ever be made against himself, he would certainly desire ave of the King to Retire, as a thing that would be for his Service. pon this Lord *Hallifax* fell into such a Passion, that he went out of the oom, and from that time they hardly liv'd in any common Civility here they met.

The Refiners thought Lord *Hallifax*, who saw himself topp'd by Lord *nderland*'s Credit and Station at Court, resolv'd to make this sud- n Turn of falling in with the King, upon the Point then in Debate out the Bill of Exclusion, wherein he found the King Steddy, and at my Lord *Sunderland* would loose himself; so that falling into onfidence with the King upon such a Turn, he should be alone Chief the Ministry without Competitor. At least the Reasoners on this atter, could find no other Ground for such a Change in Lord *Hal- fax*'s Course, after what he had so long Steer'd, and so lately in ha- ng been the chief Promoter of the Duke's being sent away to *Scot- nd*, just before the Meeting of the Parliament.

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The King's Quarrel to my Lord *Sunderland*, as far as I could observe, were chiefly Two. First, his Voting in the Lord's House for the Bill of Exclusion, not only against the King's Mind, but against his expreſs Command; which, for a Perſon actually in his Service, and in ſuch a Poſt as Secretary of State, ſeem'd ſomething Extraordinary. And I remember, when I ſpoke to him of it, as what the King muſt reſent, and what I was Confident he would be ſtedy in, he told me, 'twas too late, for his Honour was engag'd, and he could not break it. The other was a Memorial ſent over by Mr. *Sydney*, the King's Envoy at the *Hague*, and given him by the Penſioner *Fagel*, repreſenting the ſad Conſequences Abroad, of His Majeſty's not agreeing with his Parliaments; the Danger of his Allies, and of the Proteſtant Religion; and thereupon, though not directly, yet ſeeming to wiſh that the King would not break with them, though it were even upon the Point of the Bill of Excluſion. This was, as I remember, the Subſtance; for I never heard a Word of it, either before or after it's being receiv'd at the Foreign Committee; where I was as much ſurpriz'd at it as any one there, but had not the ſame Thoughts of its Original, as I find ſome other of the Lords had. For they believ'd it a Thing directed and adviſ'd from hence; and, in a Word, by Lord *Sunderland* to Mr. *Sidney* his Uncle, as a Matter that would be of Weight to induce the King to paſs the Bill. But, beſides that, Lord *Sunderland* proteſted to me after Council, that he knew nothing of it, till he receiv'd a Copy from Mr. *Sydney*, who ſent the Original to the other Secretary; I thought he could not underſtand the King ſo ill, as to believe that would be a Motive to him, to paſs the Bill, or that it could have any other Effect than to Anger him at the *Dutch*, for medling in a Matter that was Domeſtick, not only to the Nation, but to the Crown. Beſides, I obſerv'd the Style to be of one that underſtood little of our Conſtitution, by ſeveral Expreſſions in the Paper; whereof one was, why the King ſhould not prevent ſuch Conſequences, when he might do it *par un trait de plume* (*a Stroke with a Pen*;) which ſhew'd, the Author thought our Acts of Parliament had been paſs'd by the King's Signing them.

This, and the whole Caſt of it, made me believe it certainly came from the Penſioner *Fagel*; a Man of great Piety and Zeal in his Religion, mightily concern'd for all he thought would endanger it, and beſides of great Warmth and Suddenneſs in purſuing any Thought that poſſeſs'd him. However, the King, as well as ſome of the Committee, believ'd this was of my Lord *Sunderland*'s Forge; and that many of the Heats in the Houſe of Commons had been encourag'd and rais'd to ſuch Height by his ſeeming to Favour them: which they might think he would not do, unleſs he believ'd the King would at length comply with them.

Theſe, I ſuppoſe, were the Reaſons of the Reſolution taken at Court to remove Lord *Sunderland*, both from the Secretary's Office and the Council. What made my Lord *Eſſex* be joyn'd with him, is a great deal more Obvious; having ever ſince the meeting of the Parliament, run up in the greateſt Heights and neareſt Meaſures with the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury*, both in the Bill of Excluſion, and all other Matters where he interven'd, either in Debates of Parliament, or of Council; either concerning the Bill, or ſeveral Addreſſes againſt Miniſters. How I came to be joyn'd with theſe Two Lords, by the King's ordering our Names to be ſtruck out of the Council-Book at the ſame

Time,

Time, I neither know, nor could ever give any Reason; unless it were what was commonly gues'd, of my being a Friend of the Prince of *Orange*, or of my Lord *Sunderland*, with whom I had a very long Acquaintance, and of our Families, as well as Personal. For the First, I could think it no Crime, considering how little that Prince had ever meddl'd, at least to my Knowledge, in any Domestick Concerns of His Majesty, during all that pass'd since the first Heats in Parliaments here, though he had been extream sensible of the Consequences they were like to have upon all his Interests, and neareſt Concerns at Home; which were, the Preservation of *Flanders* from the *French* Conquests, and thereby of *Holland* from falling by sudden Treaties into an absolute dependance upon that Crown.

I can give no other Reason; unless it were, that as my Lord *Salisbury* had been struck out some Days before, upon his having declar'd at Council, that he would come there no more; so His Majesty and his Ministers might think, that upon my having taken the same Resolution as to that and all publick Affairs, though signify'd only in private to His Majesty, and with all the good Manners that could be; yet it would be better for the King's Affairs, that I should be known to be put out of the Council, than to have quitted it of my self.

Nor was this Resolution of mine taken in any Heat, or Rashly but upon the best Considerations and Knowledge I had gain'd, both of the World and of my Self: By which I found, as *Sancho* did by governing his Island, that he was not fit to Govern any thing but his Sheep; So by serving long in Courts, or publick Affairs, I discover'd plainly, that I was at my Age, and in the present Conjunctures, fit for neither one nor t'other.

I consider'd the World in the present posture of Affairs, both Abroad and at Home: I knew very well the great Designs of *France*, whereof the Plan was drawn by Cardinal *Richelieu*, for the Conquest of *Flanders*, and that Part of *Germany* which lies on this Side of the *Rhine*. How, upon this View, he had seiz'd *Lorrain*, and engag'd in a War with *Spain*. How he practis'd the *Dutch* into a Treaty for the Division of *Flanders* between them, till the States soon found the false Pass they had made, by an Agreement to share with the Lyon, who thereupon would be soon Master, both of the Prey and of them. Hereupon they broke off this Confederacy on the sudden, quitted the *Fr.* in the midst of so great Success, and had thereby almost occasion'd the Ruin of the *Fr.* Army at *Tirlemont*. I knew by Tradition from a Noble Family, How that Cardinal had sent a private Emissary, to Endeavour the same Measures with King *Charles* the First, or at least for his being Passive in their Conquest of *Flanders*. How that King had refus'd the first; and being press'd upon the other, had answer'd resolutely, and bid him tell the Cardinal, that he would never suffer the Conquest of *Flanders*; and if the *French* attempted it, he would march himself in Person to Defend it. Upon this Answer, the Cardinal reply'd to the Gentleman that brought it, *L'a t'il dit? par Dieu il me le payera bien* (*Did he say so? by G--d I'll make him pay dear for it*) and thereupon enter'd immediately into Practices with some discontented Nobles of *Scotland* then at *Paris*; sent over two Hundred Thousand Pistoles to others in that Kingdom, and gave thereby a Beginning to the first Troubles that were rais'd there. From which Time, the Business of *France* has ever been to foment all Divisions of *England*, whose Interest they saw would be ever to cross their great Design. However;

Cardinal *Mazarin*, after having ſurmounted his own Dangers in *France*, and the Difficulties incident to a Minority; purſu'd the Plan left him by his Predeceſſor: And by his Meaſures taken with *Cromwell*, and the Aſſiſtance of an Immortal Body of Six Thouſand brave *Engliſh*, which were by agreement to be continually Recruited, he made ſuch a Progreſs in *Flanders*; that *Cromwell* ſoon found the Ballance turn'd, and grown too heavy on the *French* Side; Whereupon he diſpatch'd a Gentleman privately to *Madrid*, to propoſe there a Change of his Treaty with *France* into one with *Spain*, by which he would draw his Forces over into their Service, and make them Ten Thouſand to be continually Recruited, upon Condition their firſt Action ſhould be to Beſiege *Calais*, and when taken, to put it into his Hands. The Gentleman ſent upon this Errand, was paſt the *Pyrenees*, when he was overtaken by the News of *Cromwell*'s Death; whereupon *Mazarin*, having not only loſt his ſtrongeſt Support in *Flanders*, but obſerv'd how that Deſign would never be ſerv'd by any Meaſures he could take in *England*, however it ſhould be Govern'd, by the moſt Legal or moſt uſurp'd Powers. He reſolv'd upon a Peace with *Spain*; and made it at the *Pyrenees*, againſt the general Senſe, both of the chief Perſons in the Court and the Army, but particularly againſt the Inſtances of Monſieur *de Turenne*, who engag'd himſelf to Conquer all that was left of *Flanders*, in two Campaigns more: But ſome Domeſtick Reaſons prevail'd with the Cardinal; beſides his Age and great Infirmities, which ended his Life not long after the Peace was made.

The preſent King, left in full Peace with all his Neighbours, in the Flower of his Youth, and inſtructed in the School of ſo able a Miniſter, began to purſue the great Deſign, by the three Paces moſt neceſſary to Advance it; which were, The wiſe Management of his Revenue, and heaping up a Maſs of Treaſure; the encreaſe of his Naval Force, by building many great Ships, and buying others from the *Dutch*; and by the purchaſe of *Dunkirk* in the Year 1662, without which he could not have aſpir'd to the Conqueſt of *Flanders*, or to his Greatneſs at Sea; having no other Haven upon the Channel: After this, by fomenting on both Sides the Seeds of Diſſention between us and the *Dutch*, which were ſprung from other cover'd Roots. He ſaw us engag'd in a War with *Holland* in 1665, and with ſuch Honour and Succeſſes, that the *Dutch* would ſoon have been forc'd to a Peace, had not *France* firſt aſſiſted them at Land, againſt the Biſhop of *Munſter*; and then declar'd War againſt us, and ſet out his Fleet for aſſiſting the *Dutch*. This made the War more equally Ballanc'd and thereby laſt ſtill *France* taking Advantage at our Diviſion, invaded *Flanders*; and by a Surprize of the unprepar'd *Spaniards*, in two Campaigns carry'd the moſt conſiderable Frontier Places on both Sides, as *Douay*, *Liſle*, *Tournay*, on the one Side; *Charleroy* and *Aeth* on the other; by which they left the reſt of *Flanders* at the Mercy of another Campaign. The *Dutch* were alarm'd at theſe Succeſſes of ſo mighty a Neighbour ſo near their own Doors; and we were ſpighted at the *French* having declar'd War againſt us, in Favour of *Holland*, contrary to our Expectations; and both together contributed to the Peace at *Breda* in the end of the Year 1667, and to our Leagues with *Holland*, with the Tripple Alliance in 1668, for Defence of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*. Upon our Peace with *Holland*, *France* ſtopp'd their Career in *Flanders*, and made Overtures of Peace with *Spain*; by the offer of an Alternative, either to retain their Conqueſts in *Flanders*, or elſe the

whole

whole County of *Burgundy*. We and *Holland* forc'd *Spain* to accept one of them; and the *Spaniards* ſpighted at this Hardſhip upon them, from Neighbours who they thought had has much Intereſt as they to preſerve *Flanders*, choſe the worſt, which was to leave the Frontier of *Flanders* in the *French* Hands; on purpoſe to give us and *Holland* the greatrr Jealouſie of *France*, and in hopes thereby to engage us all in a War with that Crown. And upon theſe Terms the Peace was made at *Aix la Chapelle* in 1668.

After this, *France* turn'd all their Counſels to break the Meaſures between us and *Holland*, which gave a Stop to their great Deſign. The *Dutch* were Stanch; but we gave way by the Corruption of our Miniſters, and the *French* Practices upon the Diſpoſitions of our Court; which at length engag'd us in a joynt War of both Crowns upon *Holland* in 1672, to the Amazement of all Men, both Abroad and at Home, and almoſt to the utter Ruin of that State; till the Empire and *Spain*, rows'd by the Danger of *Holland*, which muſt have ended in that of *Flanders* and all the *German* Provinces on this Side the *Rhine*, enter'd boldly into the War, for the Aſſiſtance of the *Dutch*; which gave them ſome Breath and carry'd the Scene of the War into *Flanders* and *Germany*. At the ſame time, the Diſcontents of the People and Parliament at the War; and the Neceſſity of declaring it againſt *Spain* as well as *Holland*, if we continu'd longer in it; prevail'd with the King to make a ſeparate Peace with *Holland* in 1673, and to offer his Mediation to all the Parties engag'd in the War; which ended in the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, and at laſt in a Peace there, concluded in 1678. Whereby a Frontier was left to the *Spaniſh Netherlands* on the *Brabant* Side, by Reſtitution of *Aeth* and *Charleroy*, to ſatisfie the *Dutch*: But all that remain'd on the Side of *Flanders* after the Peace of *Aix*, as *Cambray*, *Aire*, St. *Omer*, with many others taken by *France* in the laſt War, were by this Treaty left in their Poſſeſſion; beſides great Pretences by Dependancies, both in *Flanders* and *Alſace*; ſo as *Flanders* was left at their Mercy, whenever we or *Holland* ſhould abandon its Defence. And, finding both Nations in general but too ſenſible of our Intereſt on that Side, the Councils of *France* began new Practices upon our Court; wherein they were encourag'd by our Factions, and the Neceſſities of Money into which they had drawn the King.

Theſe were the Progreſſes which *France* had made in their great Deſign, by two General Treaties of Peace; whereof that at *Nimeguen* ſeem'd more Victurious than their Arms had been. But they had made another, yet more important than either, by their Practices upon the Elector and Chapter of *Cologne*, having gain'd the Majority of Voices there for the Succeſſion of Prince *William* of *Furſtenburgh* to that Principality, whenever the preſent Elector ſhould fail, who is Old and Infirm, and has for ſome Years paſt deceiv'd the World by living ſo long Prince *William*, tho' a *German*, yet having long Devoted himſelf to the *French* Intereſts, and been Refuged and Supported by that Crown againſt the Indignation and Revenge of the Emperor, is as much a *French-man* as any Biſhop of that Kingdom; ſo as whenever he comes to the Electorate, *France* will be abſolute Maſter of that Principality; and thereby caſt Shackles, not only upon the other Princes of the *Rhine*, but upon *Holland* too, both by cutting off their Trade upon the *Rhine*, and by Bordering upon their Inland Provinces, which are moſt Expos'd, and hard to be Defended: 'Tis ſaid, he is likewiſe aſſur'd of the Chapter of *Liege*, in Favour of the ſame

Prince; which if true, and this Principality fall likewise under the same Dominion, upon the Death of the present Elector, *France* will then surround the Frontiers of *Brabant*, and cut off all Commerce, or Means of Defence, between them and *Luxembourg*; that they will not have above the Work of one Campaign to draw the Net over the rest of *Flanders*, and reduce all the great Cities there; after which, the rest must follow, and thereby *Holland* be left to take what Measures they can with *France*; and become at best a Maritime Province to that Crown; though, perhaps, under the Name of a Free State (for fear of Dispeopling their Country,) but with such Dependance as will leave *France* the Use both of their Ships and Money, upon Occasion, in other Parts. Whenever this happens, what Condition *England* will be left in, upon such an Encrease of the *French* Territory, and Land, as well as Naval-Power, is easie to Conjecture, but hard how it can be prevented, otherwise than by our vigorous Conjunction of Counsels, as well as Interests, with all the late Confederates; and by a firm Union between the Court and the Nation upon one common Bottom, both at Home and Abroad, and chiefly for the Preservation of *Flanders* against the *French* Designs.

I easily discover'd how fit a Posture we were in to engage in such Resolutions. The Nation divided into two strong Factions with the greatest Heats and Animosities, and ready to break out into Violence upon the first Occasion. The Heads on both Sides desiring it, as grown past all Temper, or Composure. The King involv'd in such Necessities and Disorders of his Revenue, as, if he could not hope Supplies from Parliaments, would throw him upon seeking them from *France*; which would end in such Measures with that Crown, as would leave them at liberty to pursue their great Design by new Attempts upon their Neighbours; who without the Support of *England*, must give way, either by weak Defences, or submissive Treaties.

Upon the Survey of all these Circumstances, Conjunctures, and Dispositions, both at Home and Abroad, I concluded in Cold Blood, that I could be of no further Use or Service to the King my Master, and my Country, whose true Interests I always thought were the same, and would be both in Danger when they came to be divided, and for that Reason had ever endeavour'd the Uniting them; and had compass'd it, if the Passions of some few Men had not lain fatally in the way, so as to raise Difficulties that I saw plainly were never to be surmounted. Therefore upon the whole, I took that firm Resolution, in the end of the Year 1680, and the Interval between the *Westminster* and *Oxford* Parliaments, never to charge my self more with any publick Employments; but retiring wholly to a private Life, in that Posture take my Fortune with my Country, whatever it should prove: Which, as no Man can judge, in the Variety of Accidents that attend Humane Affairs; and the Chances of every Day, to which the greatest Lives, as well as Actions are Subject; so I shall not trouble my self so much as to Conjecture: *Fata viam inveniant.*

Besides all these publick Circumstances; I consider'd my self in my own Humour, Temper, and Dispositions, which a Man may Disguise to others, though very hardly, but cannot to himself. I had learn'd by living long in Courts, and publick Affairs, that I was fit to live no longer in either. I found, the Arts of the Court were contrary to the Frankness and Openness of my Nature; and the Constraints of publick Business too great for the Liberty of my Humour and my Life. The common and

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proper Ends of both; are, the Advancement of Men's Fortunes; and that I never minded, having as much as I needed; and which is more, as I desired. The Talent of gaining Riches, I ever despis'd, as observing it to belong to the most despisable Men in other Kinds: And I had the Occasions of it so often in my way, if I would have made use of them, that grew to disdain them; and as a Man does Meat that he has always before him. Therefore, I never could go to Service for nothing but Wages, nor endure to be Fetter'd in Business when I thought it was to no purpose. I knew very well, that Arts of a Court, are, to talk the present Language, to serve the present Turn, and to follow the present Humour of the Prince, whatever it is: Of all these I found my self so incapable, that I could not talk a Language I did not mean, nor serve a Turn I did not like, nor follow any Man's Humour wholly against my own. Besides, I have had in Twenty Years Experience, enough of the Uncertainty of Princes, the Caprices of Fortune, the Corruption of Ministers, the Violence of Factions, the Unsteddiness of Counsels, and the Infidelity of Friends; nor do I think the rest of my Life enough to make any new Experiments.

For the Ease of my own Life, if I know my self, it will be infinitely more in the retir'd, than it has been in the busie Scene: For no good Man can with any Satisfaction, take part in the Divisions of his Country, that knows and considers, as I do, what they have cost *Athens*, *Rome*, *Constantinople*, *Florence*, *Germany*, *France*, and *England*. Nor can the wisest Man foresee how ours will end, or what they are like to cost the rest of *Christendom* as well as our selves. I never had but two Aims in publick Affairs; One, to see the King great, as he may be by the Hearts of his People, without which I know not how he can be great by the Constitutions of this Kingdom: The other, in Case our Factions must last, yet to see a Revenue Establish'd for the constant maintaining a Fleet of Fifty Men of War, at Sea, or in Harbour, and the Seamen in constant Pay; which would be at least our Safety from Abroad, and make the Crown still consider'd in any Forreign Alliances, whether the King and his Parliaments should agree or not in undertaking any great or National War. And such an Establishment I was in hopes the last Parliament at *Westminster* might have agreed in with the King, by adding so much of a new Fund to Three Hundred Thousand Pounds a Year out of the present Customs. But these have both fail'd, and I am content to have fail'd with them.

And so I take Leave of all those Airy Visions which have so long busied my Head about mending the World; and at the same time, of all those shining Toys or Follies that employ the Thoughts of busie Men: And shall turn mine wholly to mend my self; and, as far as consists with a private Condition, still pursuing that old and excellent Counsel of *Pythagoras*, that we are, with all the Cares and Endeavours of our Lives, to avoid Diseases in the Body, Perturbations in the Mind, Luxury in Dyet, Factions in the House, and Seditions in the State.

The

The APPENDIX, containing the Pieces referr'd to in these *Memoirs*:

A Declaration relating to the Establishment of the New Privy-Council, mention'd in Page 21.

At the Court at *Whitehall* the 21st of *April*, 1679.

PRESENT.

The KING's most Excellent Majesty in Council.

His Majesty having Caus'd the Privy-Council to Meet Yesterday Extraordinary, was then pleas'd to Order the Lord Chancellor of England to Read them the following Declaration.

My Lords,

HIS Majesty hath call'd you together at this Time, to Communicate unto You a Resolution he hath taken, in a Matter of great Importance to His Crown and Government: And which He hopes will prove of the greatest Satisfaction and Advantage to His Kingdoms, in all Affairs hereafter, both at Home and Abroad; And therefore He doubts not of your Approbation, however you may seem concern'd in it.

In the first Place, His Majesty gives you all Thanks for your Service to Him here; And for all the good Advices you have given him; which might have been more frequent, if the great Number of this Council had not made it unfit for the Secrecy and Dispatch that are necessary in many great Affairs. This forc'd him to use a greater Number of you in a Foreign Committee; and sometimes the Advices of some few among them (upon such Occasions) for many Years past. He is sorry for the ill Success he has found in this Course, and sensible of the ill Posture of Affairs from that and some unhappy Accidents, which have rais'd great Jealousies and Dissatisfaction among his good Subjects; and thereby left the Crown and Government in a Condition too weak for those Dangers we have Reason to fear, both at Home and Abroad.

These His Majesty hopes may be yet prevented, by a Course of Wise and Steady Counsels for the future; and these Kingdoms grow again to make such a Figure as they formerly have done in the World; and as they may always do, if our Union and Conduct were equal to our Force. To this End, he hath resolv'd to lay aside the Use he may have hitherto made of any single Ministry, or private Advices, or Foreign Committees, for the general Directions of His Affairs: And to Constitute such a Privy-Council, as may not only by its Number be fit for the Consultation and Digestion of all Business, both Domestick and Foreign; but also

by

by the Choice of them, out of the several Parts this State is Compos'd of, may be the best inform'd in the true Constitutions of it, and thereby the most able to counsel Him in all the Affairs and Interests of this Crown and Nation. And by the constant Advice of such a Council, His Majesty is resolv'd hereafter to govern his Kingdoms; together with the frequent Use of his great Council of Parliament, which he takes to be the true Antient Constitution of this State and Government.

Now for the greater Dignity of this Council, His Majesty resolves their constant Number shall be limited to Thirty; and for their greater Authority, there shall be Fifteen of His chief Officers, who shall be Privy-Counsellors by their Places; and for the other Fifteen, he will choose Ten out of the several Ranks of the Nobility; and Five Commoners of the Realm; whose known Abilities, Interest and Esteem in the Nation, shall render them without all Suspicion of either Mistaking or Betraying the true Interest of the Kingdom, and consequently of Advising him Ill.

In the First Place therefore, and to take care of the Church, His Majesty will have the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and Bishop of *London*, for the Time-being. And to inform him well in what concerns the Laws, the Lord Cancellour, and one of the Lord Chief Justices. For the Navy and Stores (wherein consists the Chief Strength and Safety of the Kingdom) the Admiral and Master of the Ordnance. For the Treasury, the Treasurer and Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, (or whenever any of these Charges are in Commission, then the first Commissioner to serve here in their Room) The rest of the Fifteen shall be the Lord Privy-Seal, the Master of the Horse, Lord Steward, and Lord Chamberlain of his Household, the Groom of the Stoole, and the two Secretaries of State: And these shall be all the Offices of his Kingdom, to which the Dignity of a Privy-Counsellour shall be Annex'd. The others His Majesty has resolv'd, and hopes he has not chosen ill. His Majesty intends besides, to have such Princes of his Blood as he shall at any time call to this Board, being here in Court: A President of the Council, whenever he shall find it necessary: And the Secretary of *Scotland*, when any such shall be here. But these being uncertain, he reckons not of the constant Number of Thirty, which shall never be exceeded.

To make way for this New Council, His Majesty hath now resolv'd to Dissolve this Old One; and does hereby dissolve it, and from this time excuses your further Attendance here: But with his repeated Thanks for your Service hitherto, and with the Assurance of his Satisfaction in you, so far that he should not have parted with you, but to make way for this New Constitution, which he takes to be, as to the Number and Choice, the most Proper and Necessary for the Uses he intends them. And as most of you have Offices in His Majesties Service, and all of you particular Shares in his Favour and good Opinion; so he desires you will continue to Exercise, and deserve them, with the same Diligence and good Affections that you have hitherto done; and with Confidence of His Majesty's Kindness to you, and of those Testimonies you shall receive of it upon other Occasions.

Therefore, upon the present Dissolution of this Council, His Majesty Appoints and Commands all those Officers he hath Named, to attend him here to Morrow at Nine in the Morning, as his Privy-Council; together with those other Persons he designs to make up the Number, and to each of whom he has already Signed particular Letters to that purpose; and

Com-

Commands the Lord Chancellour to see them Iſſued out accordingly; which is the Form he intends to uſe, and that hereafter they ſhall be Signed in Council, to that nothing may be done unadviſedly in the Choice of any Perſon, to a Charge of ſo great Dignity and Importance to the Kingdom.

And in purſuance thereof His Majeſty did this Day declare, That he had made Choice of the ſeveral Perſons hereafter Named, to be of his Privy-Council.

The NAMES of the Lords of His Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy-Council.

HIS Highneſs Prince *Rupert*.
Dr. *Will. Sancroft*, Lord Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*.
Heneage Lord *Finch*, Lord Chancellor of *England*.
Anthony Earl of *Shaftsbury*, Lord Preſident of the Council.
Arthur Earl of *Anglesey*, Lord Privy-Seal.
Chriſtopher Duke of *Albemarle*.
James Duke of *Monmouth*, Maſter of the Horſe.
Henry Duke of *New-Caſtle*.
John Duke of *Lauderdale*, Secretary of State for *Scotland*.
James Duke of *Ormond*, Lord Steward of the Houſhold.
Charles Lord Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*.
Henry Lord Marqueſs of *Worceſter*.
Henry Earl of *Arlington*, Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold.
James Earl of *Salisbury*.
John Earl of *Bridgwater*.
Robert Earl of *Sunderland*, one of His Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State.
Arthur Earl of *Eſſex*, firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Treaſury.
John Earl of *Bath*, Groom of the Stoole.
Thomas Lord Viſcount *Falcolberg*.
George Lord Viſcount *Halifax*.
Henry Lord Biſhop of *London*.
John Lord *Roberts*.
Denzil Lord *Hollis*.
William Lord *Ruſſel*.
William Lord *Cavendiſh*.
Henry Coventry Eſq; one of His Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State.

Sir

Sir *Francis Neuth*, Kt. Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas.

Sir *Henry Capell*, Kt. of the *Bath*, first Commissioner of the Admiralty.

Sir *John Ernly*, Kt. Chancellour of the Exchequer.

Sir *Thomas Chicheley*, Kt. Master of the Ordnance.

Sir *William Temple*, Baronet.

Edward Seymour, Esq;

Henry Powle, Esq;

And His Majesty Commanded such of them as were then present, to be Sworn, and to take their Places at the Board accordingly.

The Right Honourable *Anthony* Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who was by His Majesty's Special Command, Sworn Lord President of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy-Council, took his Place at the Board accordingly.

His Majesty was this Day also pleased to declare, That he intended to make

Sir *Henry Capell*, Kt. of the *Bath*.
Daniel Finch, Esq;
Sir *Thomas Lee*, Baronet.
Sir *Humphry Winch*, Baronet.
Sir *Thomas Meers*, Baronet.
Edward Vaughan, Esq;
Edward Hales, Esq;

Commissioners, for the Execution of the Office of Lord High Admiral of *England*, who shall only attend that Business.

His Majesty was also pleased to Declare, That he would have all his Affairs here Debated freely, of what kind soever they were; and therefore absolute Secrecy.

His Majesty was also pleased to Declare, That he would communicate this Alteration of the Council unto both Houses of Parliament in a few Words.

THE Expedients mention'd by the Author in Page 10. and some other Parts of these Memoirs, met no Success in the House of Commons; who upon the Bill of Exclusion being thrown out by the Lords, had several other

other Expedients offer'd them by some of their own Members, but could not fix upon any that were thought sufficient. One Expedient was, to have a Bill brought in for the Association of all His Majesties Protestant Subjects: Another was, a Bill for the Banishment of all considerable Papists out of *England*: A Third, for securing frequent Parliaments. It was likewise propos'd that the Prince of *Orange* should be joyn'd in the Administration with the Duke, upon his coming to the Crown: With several other Schemes, which all prov'd Abortive: So that the House of Commons began to Reassume the Thoughts of the Bill of Exclusion; to which End they presented an Address, *December* 15, 1680. The King's Message in Answer to this Address, *January* 4, 1680-1. was commanded to carry to the House, as he tells, Page 29. And because it may give the Reader some Light into the Affairs and Dispositions of those Times, the Address and the King's Answer are here subjoyn'd.

The Humble ADDRESS *of the House of Commons presented to His Majesty, in Answer to His Majesty's Gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, upon the Fifteenth Day of* December, 1680.

May it please your most Excellent Majesty,

WE your Majesties most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Commons in this present Parliament Assembled, have taken into our serious Consideration, Your Majesty's Gracious *Speech* to both Your Houses of Parliament, on the Fifteenth of this Instant *December*; and do with all the grateful Sense of Faithful Subjects, and sincere Protestants, acknowledge your Majesty's great Goodness to Us, in renewing the Assurances You have been pleased to give us of Your readiness to concur with us in any Means for the Security of the Protestant Religion, and Your Gracious Invitation of us to make our Desires known to your Majesty.

But with Grief of Heart we cannot but observe, that to th se Princely Offers, Your Majesty has been advis'd (by what secret Enemies to your Majesty and your People we know not) to Annex a Reservation, which if insisted on, in

In the Instance to which alone it is Applicable, will render all Your Majesty's other Gracious Inclinations of no Effect or Advantage to us. Your Majesty is pleased thus to limit your Promise of concurrence in the Remedies which shall be proposed, that they may consist with preserving the Succession of the Crown in its due and legal Course of Descent: And we do humbly inform your Majesty, that no Interruption of that Descent has been endeavour'd by us, except only the Descent upon the Person of the Duke of *York*, who, by the wicked Instruments of the Church of *Rome*, has been manifestly Perverted to their Religion. And we do humbly represent to your Majesty, as the Issue of our most deliberate Thoughts and Consultations, that for the Papists to have their Hopes continued, that a Prince of that Religion shall succeed in the Throne of these Kingdoms, is utterly inconsistent with the Safety of your Majesty's Person, The Preservation of the Protestant Religion, and the Prosperity, Peace, and Welfare, of your Protestant Subjects.

That your Majesty's Sacred Life is in continual Danger, under the Prospect of a Popish Successor, is evident, not only from the Principles of those Devoted to the Church of *Rome*, which allow that an Heretical Prince (and such they them all Protestant Princes) Excommunicated and Deposed by the Pope, may be destroy'd and murther'd; but also from the Testimonies given in the Prosecution of the horrid *Popish Plot*, against divers Traitors attainted for designing to put those accursed Principles into Practice against your *Majesty*.

From the expectation of this Succession, has the Number of Papists in your Majesty's Dominions so much increased within these few Years, and and so many been prevail'd with to Desert the true Protestant Religion, that they might be prepar'd for the Favours of a Popish Prince, as soon as he should come to the possession of the Crown: And while the same Expectation lasts, many more will be in the same Danger of being perverted.

This it is that has harden'd the Papists of this Kingdom, Animated and Confederated by their Priests and Jesuits, to make a common Purse, provide Arms, make Application to Foreign Princes, and sollicite their Aid, for imposing Popery upon us; and all this even during your *Majesties* Reign, and while your Majesty's Government and the Laws were our Protection.

It is your Majesty's Glory and true Interest, to be the Head and Protector of all Protestants, as well Abroad as at Home: But if these Hopes remain, what Alliances can be made for the Advantage of the Protestant Religion and Interest, which shall give Confidence to your Majesties Allies, to joyn so vigorously with your Majesty, as the State of that Interest in the World now requires, while they see this Protestant Kingdom in so much Danger of a Popish Successor, by whom at the present, all their Councils and Actions may be eluded, as hitherto they have been, and by whom, (if he should succeed) they are sure to be destroy'd?

We have thus humbly laid before your Majesty, some of those great Dangers and and Mischiefs which evidently accompany the Expectation of a Popish Successor; the certain and unspeakable Evils which will come upon your Majesty's Protestant Subjects and their Posterity, if such a Prince should Inherit, are more also than we can well Enumerate.

Our Religion, which is now so dangerously shaken, will then be totally overthrown; nothing will be left, or can be found, to Protect or Defend it.

The [illegible] it will be vain to expect new
Oaths [illegible] Securities (if any
shou[illegible] [illegible] Church of the Ro-
mish Religion, will be violated; as [illegible] Experience of the
and Experience elsewhere, but from [illegible] only from Argument
and on the like Occasion.

In the Reign of such a Prince, the Pope will be acknowledg'd Supream (though the Subjects of this Kingdom have sworn the contrary) and all Causes, either as Spiritual, or in order to Spiritual Things, will be brought under his Jurisdiction.

The Lives, Liberties, and Estates of all true Protestants, as value their Souls and their Religion more than their Secular Concernments, will be adjudged Forfeited.

To all this we might add, That it appears in the Discovery of the Plot, that Foreign Princes were invited to Assist in securing the Crown to the Duke of *York*; with Arguments from his great Zeal to establish Popery, and to Extirpate Protestants (whom they call Hereticks) out of his Dominions; and such will expect Performance accordingly.

We further humbly beseech Your Majesty, in your great Wisdom to consider, whether in Case the Imperial Crown of this Protestant Kingdom should descend to the Duke of *York*, the opposition which may possibly be made to his possessing it, may not only endanger the farther Descent in the Royal Line, but even Monarchy it self.

For these Reasons, we are most humble Petitioners to Your most Sacred Majesty, That in tender Commiseration of Your poor Protestant People, Your Majesty will be graciously pleas'd to depart from the Reservation in your said Speech; and when a Bill shall be tendred to Your Majesty, in a Parliamentary way, to disable the Duke of *York* from inheriting the Crown, Your Majesty will give Your Royal Assent thereto; and, as necessary to fortify and defend the same, that Your Majesty will likewise be graciously pleased to Assent to an Act whereby Your Majesty's Protestant Subjects may be enabled to Associate themselves for the Defence of Your Majesty's Person, the Protestant Religion, and the Security of Your Kingdoms.

These Requests we are constrain'd humbly to make to Your Majesty, as of absolute Necessity, for the safe and peaceable Enjoyment of our Religion.

Without these Things, the Alliances of *England* will not be Valuable, nor the People Encourag'd to Contribute to Your Majesty's Service.

As some farther Means for the preservation both our Religion and Property, We are humble Suiters to Your Majesty, that from henceforth such Persons only may be Judges within the Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, as are Men of Ability, Integrity, and known Affection to the Protestant Religion. And that they may hold both their Offices and Sallaries, *Quamdiu se bene gesserint.* That (several Deputy-Lieutenanes and Justices of the Peace, fitly qualified for those Employments, having been of late Displaced, and others put in their Room who are Men of Arbitrary Principles, and Countenancers of Papists and Popery) such only may bear the Office of a Lord Lieutenant as are Persons of Integrity and known Affection to the Protestant Religion. That Deputy-Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace may be also so qualified, and may be more regarded for Ability, of Estates, and Interest in their Country.

That none may be employ'd as Military Officer, or Officers in Your Majesty's

Fleet, the Effect of known Experience, [illegible] Affection to the [illegible]

That our humble Requests being Obtained, we shall on our part be ready to Assist Your Majesty for the Preservation of *Tangier*, and for putting Your Majesty's Fleet into such a Condition, as it may preserve Your Majesty's Sovereignty of the Seas, and be for the Defence of the Nation.

If Your Majesty hath or shall make any necessary Alliances for Defence of the Protestant Religion, and Interest and Security of this Kingdom, this House will be ready to Assist and Stand by Your Majesty in the Support of the same.

After this our Humble Answer to Your Majesty's Gracious Speech, we hope no evil Instruments whatsoever shall be able to lessen Your Majesty's Esteem of that Fidelity and Affection we bear to Your Majesty's Service; but that Your Majesty will always retain in Your Royal Breast, that favourable Opinion of us Your Loyal Commons, that those other good Bills which we have now under Consideration, conducing to the Great Ends we have before mention'd; as also all Laws for the Benefit and Comfort of Your People, which shall from Time to Time be tendred for your Majesty's Royal Assent; shall find Acceptance with Your Majesty.

His Majesty's Gracious Message to the Commons in PARLIAMENT; January 4th 168⅘.

CHARLES R.

HIS Majesty received the Address of this House, with all the Disposition they could Wish to comply with Their Reasonable Desires; but upon perusing it, He is sorry to see Their Thoughts so wholly fix'd upon the Bill of *Exclusion*, as to determine that all other Remedies for the suppressing of Popery will be ineffectual: His Majesty is confirm'd in his Opinion against that Bill, by the Judgment of the House of Lords, who rejected it. He therefore thinks there remains nothing more for Him to say in Answer to the Address of this House, but to recommend to them the Consideration of all other Means for the *Preservation* of the *Protestant* Religion; in which they have no Reason to doubt of His Concurrence, whenever they shall be presented to Him in a *Parliamentary* Way; And that they would consider the present State of the Kingdom, as well as the Condition of Christendom, in such a manner, as may enable Him to preserve *Tangier*, and secure his Alliances Abroad, and the Peace and Settlement at Home.

But this Answer of the King's was so far from giving Satisfaction, that the same Day it was read in the House, after long Debate, and a Despair of any effectual Expedients, the Commons came to the following Resolutions.

Resolv'd, That it is the Opinion of this House, that there is no Security nor Safety for the *Protestant* Religion, the King's Life, or Government of this Nation, without passing a Bill for disabling *James* Duke of *York* to inherit the

[illegible] last Message, having assur'd [illegible]
[illegible] to consider of proper means for the preservation of the Protestant Religion, this House must declare, That until a Bill be likewise past'd [illegible] the Duke of York, this House cannot give any Supply to his [illegible] Danger to his Majesty's Person, extream Hazard of the [illegible] Religion, and Unfaithfulness to those by whom this House is [illegible]

These Resolutions were followed by Votes of Addresses against several Persons; which Heats still encreasing in the House of Commons, the King Three Days after Prorogued the Parliament, and the next Week Dissolv'd it by Proclamation.

Page 27. Sir *William Jones* was reputed one of the best Speakers in the House, and was very Zealous in his Endeavours for promoting the Bill of Exclusion. He was a Person of great Piety and Virtue, and having taken [illegible] Affection to Sir *William Temple*, was sorry to see him employ'd in the Delivery of so unacceptable a Message to the House: The Substance of what he said to the Author upon it was this; That *for Himself he was Old and Infirm, and expected to Die soon: But you*, said he, *will in all probability live to see the whole Kingdom Lament the Consequences of this Message you have now brought Us from the King.*

Page 28. What the Author spoke in the House, does not only relate to the Business of *Tangier*, But likewise to the Bill of Exclusion, which was then newly Thrown out by the Lords. *I* shew'd the Speech to the Author, who as far as his Memory could serve him, allow'd it to be fairly taken, *I* think a very Worthy of the Author, though it appears to have been wholly unpremeditate. And since part of it relates to some Passages in the Memoirs, it may be convenient to insert it here.

Mr. Speaker,

THIS Debate hath more of Weight in it, than the Business of *Tangier*, I think. As Affairs now stand, the most part of Christendom is concern'd in it, I am sure all the Protestants: And therefore, I hope your Patience will hold out, to have the whole Circumstances of it fairly Examin'd. For the Arguments that have been offer'd in the consideration of this Message, have enlarged the Debate further than was at first intended, and have brought the whole State of the Nation, in some Measure, before you, instead of that one particular Business of *Tangier*; so that now what Resolve you make will be a Discovery of your Inclinations, not only as to what you intend to do as to a Supply for *Tangier*, but as to giving Money for Alliances [illegible] other Occasions; upon which Result the good or bad Success of [illegible] Parliament doth depend. As to *Tangier*, I do agree with that worthy Member that spoke before, (though many are of a different Opinion) that 'tis not of any great Use to us upon the Account of any Advantage we shall [illegible] by it. But however, I think it is very well worth our keeping; because of the Disadvantages we should receive by it, if it should fall into the [illegible] either of the *Turk* or *Spaniard*, but especially the *French*; who will [illegible] thereby enabled to fetter us, as to our Trade in the *Levant*, but [illegible] Parts of the Mediterranean whatsoever; and be such an Addition to the too

great

Opinion I am of
have
we now
could
Town
this
Chaos, I
much
could not be
at this time, cannot be proper, because the Hours
about that,
Bar'd it, that
the first thing that must be done, whether in order to keep it or destroy it,
is, to beat them off, by some speedy Supplies which must be prest
sens;
or else the Town, according to the best Information come from thence, is
like to be lost. And, Sir, I think that single Consideration may be perswasive
to move you to give some such Supply as may be precisely necessary to the
Defence and Protection of this Place. A small Sum of Money, in compari-
son of what this House hath formerly given, may be sufficient to satisfie his
Majesty's Expectation and secure the Place too. And I must confess, Sir, it
is not the Consideration of Danger that makes me press you to it; but the de-
plorable State of the Protestants Abroad. Sir, I take leave of the Honour to
serve His Majesty in some publick Employment, and by that means may be
a little more capable of the State of Affairs, in Reference to our Neighbours,
than others may be, having only had the Advantage of
but was
Necessity of using my best Endeavours to get a true Account
of them. Sir, I am Confident the Eyes of all Europe are upon this Parliament;
and not only the Protestant, but many Catholick Countries (who had
in fear of the Power of France) do think themselves as much concern'd in the
Success of this Parliament as this House and Kingdom will be as much perplex'd to hear
any ill News thereof. These, Sir, as well as the Necessities of our Affairs at
Home, make me trouble you at this time, to desire you to be careful what
you do, that we may not occasion in His Majesty any dislike to this House.
Whatever you do as to the Business of Money for *Tangier*, I pray, Sir, let
there be no notice taken in your Address of the Lords having cast out your
Bill, for we have no Reason to think the King was any Ways concern'd there-
in. To throw out a Bill of so great Importance, without a Conference, was
in my humble Opinion very Strange, and contrary to the usual Proceedings
of that House. But pray, Sir, let it lie at their Doors that did it, for the
King could not be concern'd in a Parliamentary Way. For by this means
we may obviate all misunderstandings with His
about this Affair, and
I hope, create in him a good Opinion of this
on which the welfare,
not only of this Nation, but of *Europe*, does
depend.

Sir, His *Majesty* in his *Message* pl
giving Advice, as well
as *Money*; I think, if we make that Exp
the Ground of our Ad-
dress, we may Naturally graft very good
things thereon, especially what
may conduce to the preservation of a fair Correspondence. Sir, *Though a King alone cannot save a Kingdom, yet a King alone can do very much to Ruin it; and though Parliaments alone cannot save this Kingdom, yet Parliaments alone may do much to Ruin it.* And therefore we cannot be too Circumspect in what we do. It is our Fortune to sit here in a Critical time, when not only the Affairs of this Nation, but the Protestant Religion Abroad need our Continuance; and for the same Reason we may justly fear that there are those who endeavour to contrive the parting off this Parliament. I pray, Sir, let us not give them any Advantage; and then I doubt not but His *Majesty's* Care and Goodness, will at last overcome all Difficulties, and bring this Session to a happy Conclusion.

FINIS.